Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

http://www.archive.org/details/captives00cathrich

THE CAPTIVES,

—BY—

JAMES LEANDER CATHCART,

Eleven Years a Prisoner in Algiers.

COMPILED BY

HIS DAUGHTER,

J. B. NEWKIRK.

HERALD PRINT, La Porte, Ind.
copyright 1899.

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

DT271
C3

HENRY MORSE STEPHENS

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

PREFACE.

This journal was commenced one hundred and twelve years ago by a youth of seventeen years of age, who had been taken prisoner by the British when a midshipman on board the United States Frigate, Confederacy, Capt, Seth Harding, and carried into New York with most of the prisoners, on board first the Good Hope and then on the old prison ships where he remained till, with a fellow prisoner, he made his escape and found employment in the merchant service. The Maria of Boston, on which he embarked, was captured by the Algerines July 25, 1785, three miles southeast of Cape St. Vincent, this being the first American vessel captured by those Pirates An indomitable spirit of patriotism enabled him to rise from abject slavery to become Christian clerk to the Dey of Algiers, being the medium to approach the Dey when the Ambassadors could not gain an audience. In 1796 he came back to the United States, at his own expense, with dispatches and to select the articles to secure the peace. The government employed him about two years in Philadelphia, when he was sent back to the Mediterranean as Consul General to Algiers, Tunis and

508969

Tripoli. When war was declared by Tripoli against the United States he was sent as Consul to Leghorn where he remained several years, spending about nine years in these different places. He returned to the United States in 1805. In 1807 he was appointed Consul to Madeira where he remained nine years when he returned to Washington, D. C., and soon after went as Consul to Cadiz where he remained nearly three years and was next employed as United States agent in Louisiana, and from 1823 to 1843 was employed in the Second Comptroller's office, Washington, D. C. So faithful to his country and family, he never took a summer vacation till the year he died, passing away Oct. 6, 1843. After spending their lives in three quarters of the globe his devoted companion followed him to their blessed home in less than four months.

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

JAMES LEANDER CATHCART.

JANE B. CATHCART.

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

ANCESTRY.

My family surname is taken from the lands and Barony of Kethcart in the county of Renfrew where now is the town of Cathcart, Scotland. The founder of the family, from whom I am descended, was Col. Gabriel Cathcart who went over to Ireland with the Rev. Malcolm Hamilton (afterwards Bishop of Cashel) in the year 1641—said Gabriel married Annie Hamilton, daughter of the Bishop of Cashel, by whom he had eleven sons and several daughters, he (Gabriel) with six of his sons was killed at the battle of Aughrim, A. D., 1691. Malcolm Cathcart (son of Gabriel) my great grandfather, survived and married Mary, daughter of Sir James Caldwell, and lived to the extraordinary age of 116 years. His son, James, my grandfather, and, after whom I am named, was a captain in the British army, and was killed in battle under the Duke of Cumberland in the year 1745. He left two children, my father, Malcolm Hamilton Cathcart, who was born at Persfield, in the county of West Meath, in the year 1736, and Eliza, married to Mr. Sullivan, whom I never knew. My grandfather married the niece of Andrew Wilson, the founder of Wilson's Hospital in Ireland. My father married the

daughter of Edward Humphreys, Esq., of Dublin. My eldest brother, Rolleston Nassau Cathcart, was born at Mount Murragh, in the county of West Meath, September 22, 1763. I was born at the same place June 1, 1767. I came to America at a very early age, my father having placed me under the care of a relative, Capt. John Cathcart, with whom I followed the sea for several years till he placed me as midshipman on board the U. S. Frigate, the Confederacy, then commanded by Capt. Seth Harding.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

Political State of Affairs in 1785; Don Antonio's Expedition Against Algiers; Peace with Spain Resolved on by Mahomed Bashaw; Peace with Spain Concluded 1785; Arrival of Consul Logie, April 1785; Advice of British Consul Logie to the Dey; Logie's Advise Favorable to the Cruisers; First Depredations on the Commerce of the United States; Capture of the Maria of Boston and Dauphin of Philadelphia.

CHAPTER. II.

Economy of the Dey's Palace; Limited Priviledges of the Slaves; Scarcity of Food in the Palace Garden; Arrival of the Cruiser that Captured the Dauphin; Cruelty and Injustice; The Dey's Cowardice; I am Called the "False Priest;" Feast of Aydel Cabir; Persecuted by the Chamberlains; Repetition of Cruel Bastinadoing; Sidi Mahomed Turns Alchemist; His Genteel Apostrophe to Me.

CHAPTER III.

Commodore Lamb's Arrival at Algiers; Mr. Woulfe well Calculate to Negotiate with the Barbary Powers; Reasons why he ought to have been Preferred; Mr. Woulfe's Advice to Mr. Lamb not Attended To; The Count Expilley and French Consul Differ in Opinion from Mr. Woulfe; Mr. Lamb takes their Advise who Refuses to Intercede with the Dey to Permit him to Deliver his Credentials as Negotiator of Peace; Mr. Lamb's Different Audiences Mentioned.

CHAPTER IV.

Arrival of two Prizes; Expelled from the Palace Garden; Reflections on Commodore's Negotians; State of my Finances and Wardrobe; Perquisites of Slaves; Apostrophe of Salah Bey; Arrival at the Slave Prison Bagnio Belique; Character of the Chief Guardian; We have Iron Rings put upon our Legs and are Registered in the Books of the Prison; Description of the several Prisons; Greatest Mortality in Bagnio de Galera during the Plague; Reflections on the Conduct of different Nations towards Barbary States; Presented to the Vikilharche or Intendant General who afterwards was Hassan Bashaw, Dey of Algiers; I am sent to the Carpenter's Shop; No rest for the Slaves; Bad Provisions; Manner of Keeping their Gunboats in time of War.

CHAPTER V.

Site of the City of Algiers; Marine Fortifications and Navy Yard; Court of Admiralty; Causeway; Mosque; Light House; Castle Built by the Spaniards; Point Battery; Vikilharche's Seat; Mode of Dining; Marine Workshops; Large Cannon; Fitting and Laying up Cruisers; Pontoons; Gate of the City; Fortifications; Beautiful Prospect of Algiers from the Head of the Bay; Castle of Siddi Akoleet; Star Castle; Mussulman's Cemetery; The Seven Cupolas; Christian's Cemetery; Jews' Cemetery; Naval Force Described.

CHAPTER VI.

Description of the Dey's Palace; Place where the Christians are Beheaded before the Gate of the Palace; Privilege of the Chain; Palace Court Yard Stair Case; Dey's Throne or Seat; Doors of the Treasury; Armory; Blacksmith Shops; Slaughter House; A Family of Cats; Kitchen and Chief Cook's Seat; Upper Gallery; Slaves Quarters; Seraglio of Bobba Aly; Excellent Water; Dey's Bagnio; Manner of Bathing; Garden Described; Wild Animals; Pigeons; Dey and Chamberlain's Apartments; New Additions by Hassan Bashaw; Furniture and Ornaments; Dey's Treasury; Dey's Mosque, and Great Mosque Described; Public Schools; Perfection in Arabic Characters in some Copies of the Koran; Casarias or Turkish Barracks; Description of Roman Catholic Institutions; The Hospital Established by the Spaniards and the Ospreio by the French—Both Charitable Institutions; Benevolence of Father Joseph.

CHAPTER VII.

Continuance of My Situation; Changed from Bagnio Belique to Bagnio Galera; Put to Hardest Labor; Abuse of the Guardians; The Plague upon Us; Distress of Slaves from Oran; Giavorni de la Cruz Appointed Clerk of Marine; Myself Coffeegie to Vikilharche; My Friend Died of the Plague; I am Appointed Clerk of the Marine; Next Appointed Clerk of Bagnio Gallera; Duties Described.

CHAPTER VIII.

Reception of the Bey of Constantine; Horrible Execution of the Hasnagi or Prime Minister; Barbarous Treatment of his Wife; Hassan Bashaw takes Refuge in the Maraboot Sanctuary; Power of Mansour Shiek and Grand Maraboot of the Mountain Arabs.

CHAPTER IX.

How I had Means to Assist my Fellow Sufferers; The Plague Raged all this Year; The Slaves are Overworked; My Trouble on Account of two Turks Quarrelling, and one being Killed; Treachery of Cara Burmuz; Soliloquy; Third Affair was in Regard to their Religion; They set a Trap

for me to Commit Myself; The Dey Advises them to let the Americans Alone; An Account of the Death of Mahomet Bashaw, Dey of Algiers; Order of Precedency; My Letter to the British Surgeon; Letter to Capt. O'Brien; Invocation; Appointed Secretary to the Dey and Regency of Algiers.

CHAPTER X.

Announcement of Mr. Donaldson's Arrival at Alicant; The Dey Grants a Passport for him to Come to Algiers; Conversation with the French Consul; Situation of the United States at this Time; Reasons why the Swedes did not Espouse our Cause Publicly; I Procure a House from the Dey for Mr. Donaldson; I Suggest the Terms on which the United States will Make Peace; Donaldson's Arrival at Algiers; I put Mr. Donaldon in Possession of my Journals, Correspondence, Etc.

CHAPTER XI.

Mr. Donaldson obtains his first Audience from the Dey; The Dey gives me Orders to take the Last Year's Terms Number One to Mr. Donaldson to the Amount of $2,247,000; I Present Mr. Donaldson's Proposals Number Two to the Dey; His Treatment; The Result; The French Consul's Villainy; The Dey Rejects Mr. Donaldson's Proposals; Mr. Donaldson Refuses to make any Addition to his first Offer; I am called by the Dey and by my Arguments Produced Terms Number Three which Donaldson Rejects; His Indifference to my Fate; My Retort; I take Mr. Donaldson's Answer to the Dey; Am Abused and Threatened; Donaldson is Ordered to Leave the Country; Arguments used to Persuade Donaldson not to Break off the Negotiations; He is Convinced by my Exertions and makes Proposal Number Four to the Dey; I Request the Dey to Permit the Captives to be Redeemed, in order to Persuade him, that we had given up all Idea of Peace if he Rejected the Terms now Presented to Him.

CHAPTER XII.

Mr. Donaldson's Second Visit to the Dey; Peace Established in Consequence of Deducting $60,000 from the Cash Payment; Terms of Peace and Ransom Confirmed; Conversation at Donaldson's Second Audience; Donaldson Refuses to take our Countrymen from Hard Labor; Indifference about their Becoming Mussulmen; American Flag Saluted and Peace Proclaimed; I Congratulate Mr. Donaldson and Procure Permission for O'Brien to be the Bearer of the Treaty; I make the first Treaty of Peace with the Secretary of State, Signed by Mr. Donaldson, and Procure four Passports; I Remind the Dey of his Promise to use his Influence with Tunis and Tripoli for us to Procure a Peace on Favorable Terms; I Introduce O'Brien for the first time to the Dey.

CHAPTER XIII.

Situation of their Foreign Relations; Overtures made to me which I Refused with Disdain; The French Consul Informs the Dey that Mr. Donaldson had Carte Blanche; Fallacy of Depending on the Influence of France to Effect a Pacification with the Barbary States; She Opposes our Interest; Arrival of Mr. Monroe at Paris; State of Affairs; Mr. Monroe did not Enjoy the Confidence of the Peace Government; Reasons Assigned why France did not Fulfill the Stipulations Contained in the Article of the Treaty of 1778 in Relation to the Barbary States; Jay's Treaty with England Arrives in France; Ratified by the Senate; National Convention Dissolved; Fanchet Arrives in France; President's Address Received in Paris; The House of Representatives Agrees to Carry the Treaty into Effect; I Procure a Truce for Eight Months; Presents Brought by Mr. Barlow not Satisfactory; Reasons for the Opposition we met with from the Agents of Spain; Under all the Difficulties the task I had to Perform was an Arduous One.

CHAPTER XIV.

Mr. Donaldson Retired to the Swedish Consul's Country Seat; We were Daily Expecting the Funds; He Came to Town the 22nd; We Dined *Tete a Tete*; I Gave him the Copies of the Treaty; On the 11th I Announced that Capt. O'Brien Arrived at Malaga; Mr. Donaldson makes his first Visit to the Dey's Ministers and offends them by his Parsimony; Mr. Donaldson's Conduct Relative to a Vessel I was about to Purchase; The Dey Orders a List of the Portuguese in Captivity to be made Out; He Is taken Ill; I Procure a Truce for the United States with Tunis, Guaranteed by the Dey for Eight Months; The Mates and Sailors lay Siege to his Chamber; Wish him to Procure Leave for them to stay in the Town; He says he cannot do it at Present; They use hard language to Him; The Dey's Impatience.

CHAPTER XV

The Dey Refuses to Release the Corsicans until their Ransom was paid in Hard Cash; their Boats were Condemned; Arrival of a British Privateer; The Vessel is Condemned and the People made Slaves; Arrival of a British Frigate; The Captain Demanded the Privateer that was Captured, all the Corsicans in Captivity, and the Value of the Boats Condemned; The Dey sends his Negative and Formally Declares War Against Great Britain; The British Surgeon Receives Orders to Embark; Settlement of Affairs; Money Paid for the Ransom of the Corsicans; The Dey Presents a Handsome Turkish Scymeter to Mr. North; Mr. Donaldson Requests me to Charter a Vessel to Alicant to Expedite our Affairs; But Refuses a Present to the Dey to Strengthen his Belief; Disturbance Caused by the Mates and Seamen;

They are Ordered to be put in Chains; I Interceeded for Them; The Dey Grows Impatient by the Delay of the Funds; Threatens to cut off my Head for Advising him to make Peace with the United States in Preference to Portugal.

CHAPTER XVI.

Arrival of Mr. Barlow, the first American Vessel that ever Arrived in Algiers or any of the Barbary States; Mr. Barlow Requests Permission of the Dey to make Presents; The Dey Refuses to Accept any Presents from the Agents of the United States, and said he would send them out of the Country; Mr. Barlow sends a Small Silver Trunk, Curiously Wrought, to the Dey for his Daughter in his own Name; The Dey said he might send it to her house if he Pleased; Mr. Barlow Requested me to give him Information; I Placed my Journals in his hands, also oral and written Communications for which he Received the Thanks of the Department of State; My Interview with the Dey Ill-timed; Pleasantry of Mr. Donaldson.

CHAPTER XVII.

Depredations on Denmark Caused by the Neapolitans Capturing a Danish Vessel with Three Hundred Turkish Soldiers on Board; The Cruisers go out and bring in Thirteen Sail of Danish Merchant Vessels; After Many Threats to the Danish Consul; The Dey Threatens Mr. Donaldson and Myself; He makes the motion of Beheading as they do the Christians at the Palace Gate; Ramadan; Cruelty and Injustice; I Intercede for the Tavern Keepers; I pay the whole of my Quota of the Mulct, 240 Sequins; when I left with Dispatches my Successor Assumed the Responsibility of the Tavern Keepers; The Dey sends me with a Letter to the President of the United States; Fac Simile of the Dey's Letter.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Letter from Mr. Barlow to Hon. D. Humphreys, Minister from the United States to Lisbon; Also from Mr. Barlow to the Secretary of State, Hon. Timothy Pickering; Letter of Instructions to Myself; My Observations on the Terms of the Voyage; Affecting Scene, Parting with my Fellow Prisoners, Mr. Barlow and my Friends the Skjoldebrands; At Meridian made Sail; May 22, Alicant Bay got Product, and waited on Mr. Montgomery; 28th had no Alternative than to sell a part of my Vessel and with this Money fitted her out and got Provisions, and sent the Moors back to Algiers; My Letter to Mr. Barlow, Alicant, June 6; On the 8th I got under way, but was obliged to come to an Anchor again, on the 9th on account of hard winds I was obliged to slip and leave an Anchor and Cable and put to Sea; Letter from the Secretary of State to Mr. Barlow on my Arrival at Philadelphia, dated December 3, 1796; List of the Americans Captured in 1785.

CHAPTER XIX.

Left Algiers May 8, 1796, and Arrived at Philadelphia December 3, 1796; Marriage June 5, 1798; Received Instructions from the Secretary of State to Return to the Barbary States; Left Philadelphia December 23, 1798, and Arrived at Algiers February 9, 1799; Left Algiers for Tunis, March 2nd; Arrived at Biserta the 8th, and at Tunis the 12th of March; Effected an Alteration in the Treaty and Sailed for Tripoli on the 2nd of April, 1799; Dispatched the Sophia for Tunis, Algiers and the United States, having Purchased a Vessel of War and a Cargo of Maritine and Military Stores for $18,000 on the 17th of April, 1799; In 1798 I had Received Instructions from the Secretary of State and Procured two Flags for the Consulate of Tunis and Tripoli; On the 23rd of December took Leave of the Secretary of State and Embarked on the United States Brig Sophia.

CHAPTER XX.

Saturday, August 27, 1803, Embarked on the United States Frigate Adams, Capt. Campbell, in Leghorn Roads, bound to Tunis; Spoke two English Privateers; Spoke a Ship under Imperial Colors from Constantinople in sight of Corsica Caprea and Island of Elba; September 2nd came to Anchor in Tunis Bay; Monday, 5th, the Drogoman brought a Note from Dr. Davis Containing the Bashaw's Permission to Land; Waited on the Bashaw and Delivered the President's Letters.

CHAPTER XXI.

January 1, 1805, Returned to the United States; Many Places Mentioned; Stormy Weather; Mutiny Threatened but Subdued; February 26, made the Land Northward of Little Egg Harbor and Sandy Hook; Next day Anchored off North Battery; Took my Family Ashore, Visited a week at Flat Bush; 22nd left New York for Philadelphia, and Arrived at Washington at 8 P. M.

CHAPTER XXII.

Resided on West Street, Georgetown, D. C., till Appointed Consul to Madeira, May 21, 1807; June 11th, had fine Weather from our Departure; 18th, made the North End of Madeira; Made sail and Anchored in Funchal Roads at 3 P. M., went Ashore at 5; Just Twenty-eight Days from the City of Washington; June 26, 1807, Moved the Family to the Quinta de Descanso; Brief Description of the Island; Left Madeira for Washington, June 1815.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Arrival at Cadiz; Speak of the Appearance of the Houses and Streets being Remarkable for Neatness; The Almeda, Public Walk, Commands a fine View; Beautiful View of the "Open Sea;" Returned to Washington in August, 1817, from this the last Appointment Abroad; Employed on the Survey of the Coast of Louisiana; Next Permanently Employed in the Second Comptroller's Office, Washington, D. C.

THE CAPTIVES.

CHAPTER I.

POLITICAL STATE OF ALGIERS IN 1785.

The piratical states of Barbary, especially Algiers, having for a succession of years withstood the attacks of Spain and several of the smaller Christian powers, bordering on the north side of the Mediterranean, coadjuted by a small squadron from Portugal, and, having compelled a number of their armaments to retire from the object of this enterprise, and their chiefs to abandon their hopes of possessing themselves of that city, among which, since the grand expedition by the Emperer Charles the V, in 1541, those under the command of Don Pedro Castigon and Gen. O'Riley in 1775 and Don Antonio Barcelo in 1784 were the most formidable, now resolved to accept a valuable consideration from that Monarchy as the price of peace, and thereby liberate themselves from the annual apprehension of bombardment as well as to obain a larger field for committing depredations on the commerce of other nations. The preliminaries, or, rather, the foundations, upon which a peace between those nations might be estab-

lished, were adjusted in 1777 and 1778 by Ciddi Hassan Vikilharche, of the marine of Algiers, during his detention at Carthagena, and would have been carried into effect long ere this, had not the war in which Spain was afterward involved with Great Britain rendered the measure unnecessary, and the Dey of Algiers partiality for that nation, even after peace took place in 1783, rendered it improvident for Spain to solicit a peace on his own terms. Accordingly a small armament was sent to bombard Algiers in 1784 in order to prove that Spain had sufficient force to impede the depredations of the Cruisers of Algiers, which had no other effect than to render the wished for accommodation more popular among the soldiery and inhabitants of that city, and to give the Dey and Divan of Algiers an opportunity to persuade them that it was entirely on their account, that he wished for peace with a nation that had for so many years been their implacable enemy.

There was one small obstacle remaining to be removed on the part of his Catholic Majesty, this was a clause in the Coronation oath which prohibits that Monarch from concluding peace with the Infidels; but, as a truce only implies a cessation of arms for a certain time, that impediment was easily gotten over by concluding a truce for a century, for which was paid to the treasury, one million dollars, and about as much to the Dey and grandees of the Regency among whom Ciddi Hassan was most liberally rewarded for his friendly interposition and ever afterwards made it a pretext for extorting valuable presents from the Court of Spain.

At this period Algiers was at peace with Great Britain, France, Spain, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Venice, and the little Republic of Ragusa. With the Empires of Russia and Germany the Dey was upon indifferent terms and waited for information from the Sublime Porte before he took his position with those powers and consequently had not captured any of their vessels. With Portugal, Prussia, Naples, the Italian States, the Hanstowns and all the rest of the world that did not pay him tribute he was at war. Great Britain, by her superiority at sea and in consequence of her garrisons in the Mediterranean, during the war which concluded in acknowleding the independence of the United States, was both feared and respected by the Divan of Algiers, exclusive of the Dey's partiality to that nation, but from the death of Mr. Benton, late British Consul who had died at Algiers, none had been appointed until the arrival of Charles Logie, Esq., a very short time before peace was concluded between Algiers and Spain, consequently the Dey was ignorant of the differences which had existed between her and her ci-devant colonies; as it was by no means incumbent on the Agents of France or Holland to give him information either of those differences or the result of the war before they received instructions from their respective Courts, which, had circumstances permitted, would have prevented, in a great measure, the many disagreeable events which have since happened. It would be as impolitic as disagreeable to revive the remembrance of transactions dictated by the exigencies of the times, and which the interests of both

nations would induce us to consign to oblivion; but a faithful narrator ought to write things as they really were, or not at all. I therefore will not interrupt the thread of my narration by any evasion of truth, but am sincerely inclined to believe, that many of the facts which will be herein mentioned, were owing more to individual inveteracy than national animosity.

Consul Logie, who arrived at Algiers too late to impede the progress of the negotiations between that Regency and Spain, whether to ingratiate himself with his own government or that of Algiers, is immaterial and hard to determine, immediately gave the Executive of Algiers a circumstantial detail of the motives of the late war and the results, declaring that the United States were no longer under the protection of his Master, and, that wherever the Cruisers of Algiers should fall in with the vessels of the United States of America, they were good prizes and wished them success in their attempts to capture those who refused allegiance to his Master. The Cruisers of Algiers were fitted out with all expedition and sailed on the 30th of June, bound direct to the Atlantic ocean, where they had not cruised for a number of years before. Their aim was the capture of some rich Portuguese-Brazil ships which were expected at Lisbon about this time and did not suppose they would meet with any Americans, whom Consul Logie had represented to be a set of beings without strength or resources, and so contemptible, that his Master did not think us worth the trouble or expense of subduing.

The Cruisers proceeded to cruise on the coast of Portugal but were disappointed in their expectations of capturing the ships from Brazil but took several others, Portuguese, Genoese and two Americans. The Maria of Boston on which I had embarked was captured three miles southeast of Cape St. Vincent (southeast point of Portugal) on the 25th of July, 1785, and arrived at Algiers on the 4th of August following, and the Dauphin of Philadelphia was captured 70 leagues to the westward of the Rock of Lisbon on the 30th of said month, and arrived at Algiers on the 12th of August, being captured by the Admiral's ship, and the Maria by a Xebec of fourteen guns. On being boarded the Mahometans asked us for our flag and papers. Of the first they had no knowledge and the papers they could not read and Mediterranean pass we had none; consequently, they conceived us to be a good prize but my feelings were very different from the rest of my fellow sufferers. I understood the Spanish language which they all spoke and was the only person on board who had any knowledge of the Barbary States. I knew that a few months before Spain was at war with the eastern states and prevented their Cruisers from coming into the western ocean and, not having spoken any vessel at sea to inform us of that event, I conjectured that this boat must belong to some pirate from that part of Morocco, which was then at war with the Emperor, and that they concluded that the "Kingdom of Heaven" was at hand. They were twenty-one in number and we were only six, which precluded the possibility of overpowering them had

we been so imprudent as to have made an attempt. In this state of mind I remained more than two hours before we joined the Xebec, there being very little wind, and the first salutation we received was a shout from the whole crew of the Cruiser indicative of our being a good prize. We were then driven into the boat without being permitted to go into the cabin and taken on board the Cruiser and conducted to the quarter deck, every person having a pull at us as we went along, in order to benefit by our capture. Our hats, handkerchiefs and shoes were the first articles that were taken from us and which we most wanted as we could not endure the scorching heat of the sun on our heads nor were our feet calculated to bear the heat of the deck. We were welcomed on board by the Rais or Captain, a venerable old Arab, who had been a captive for several years, both in Spain and Genoa, and who was really a good man. "Christians," said he, "be consoled, this world is full of vicissitudes. You shall be well used, I have been a slave myself, and will treat you much better than I was treated; take some bread and honey and a dish of coffee and God will redeem you from captivity as he has done me twice, and, when you make your peace with your father, the King of England, the Dey of Algiers will liberate you immediately." He informed me that they were a Cruiser of Algiers, that they had come through the Straits in consequence of their having concluded a peace with Spain and of the arrival of a British Consul, (Charles Logie), who informed them that they might take all such vessels that had not passports of a particular cut.

They had taken several Portuguese fishermen, and two pretty large vessels, the crews of the whole amounting to thirty-six men, and one woman, a Spaniard by birth, a facetious creature, who seemed perfectly reconciled to her situation, and endeavored to reconcile every one to theirs. I had entered into a conversation with her and began to thank God that our situation was no worse, when a sail was descried from the mast head and we were all ordered down to the sail room, except the woman. It is impossible to describe the horror of our situation while we remained there. Let imagination conceive what must have been the sufferings of forty-two men, shut up in a dark room in the hold of a Barbary Cruiser full of men and filthy in extreme, destitute of every nourishment, and nearly suffocated with heat, yet here we were obliged to remain every night until our arrival at Algiers and wherever we were either chased or in chase. The vessel proved to be a friend and was liberated immediately, the prize master and crew taking the Captain's quadrant perspective glass, charts and some wearing apparel, to indemnify themselves for the trouble of examining their papers and we were permitted to come upon deck and were regaled with some very bad black olives, mixed with a small quantity of rank oil, and some vinegar to which was added some very coarse bread and water, which was corrupted, and which we were, literally, obliged to strain through our teeth, and, while we drank, to stop our noses. This was all our allowance except twice they served us burgul, which we could not eat, notwithstanding the calls of

nature were very great, and we must enevitably have perished, had it not been for some Turks, who were more charitable than the rest who gave us some onions, oranges, raisins and figs from their own private stores. I likewise received relief several times for standing at the helm for the sailors, and actually learned to smoke, by the kindness of the ship's steward, who gave me a pipe and tobacco, and whom I lived to repay, at Algiers more than two years after. Whether the Algerian Cruisers were apprehensive that Portugal would fit out a squadron to cruise against them or were content with the booty they already had made, I know not, but fortunately for us they made but a short cruise and returned into the Mediterranean the first westerly wind after our capture. Had they remained thirty days longer in the western ocean they would undoubtedly have captured as many American vessels as they could have manned and, probably, several rich Portuguese.

We arrived at Algiers on the eve of the feast that follows Ramadan and being private property were conducted to the owner of the Cruiser's house, having been first entirely stripped of the remnant of our clothes which remained, and I was furnished in lieu thereof with the remains of an old dirty shirt, and brown cloth trousers which formerly belonged to a Portuguese fisherman, and were swarming with myriads of vermin, which, with the crown of an old hat, composed the whole of my wardrobe. The rest of my brother sufferers were in no better condition. We were first carried to the Kieuchk or Admiralty office and were permitted to regale ourselves with as

much good water as we pleased, which flowed from a neat marble fountain and was as clear as crystal. My desire was so great to partake of this refreshment, that I really believe that I should have expired had I been refused this gratification. Those who have been on long voyages know how to appreciate this greatest of luxuries, and how grateful it must have been to people in our situation. It has made so permanent an impression on my mind that I shall remember the Fountain of the Kiosk of the Marine of Algiers, to the latest hour of my existence.

We were marched from the Kieuchk through the principal streets and market place of Algiers and to several of the Grandee's houses followed by the mob who had gathered to view Americans, we being the first they had ever beheld, and, at last, arrived at our owner's house, having received no refreshment but water since the evening before. Here we remained but a few minutes, when we were visited by Christian slaves of all denominations, they not being at work in consequence of the festival, and those, who could afford it brought us the fruits of the season, wine, bread, and everything that was cooked, or could be eaten without cooking. At our owner's house we were all put into an empty room, on the ground floor, where we all sat or laid on the bare bricks. In the centre of the area was placed a large cauldron in which clothes had lately been boiled, filled with water, and a quantity of coarse flesh, which we supposed to be ordinary beef, but afterwards was informed was camel's flesh, which prevented us from tasting it. This enraged our Master considerably

and he declared he never would put himself to so much expense again to accommodate Christian slaves. To this again was added a quantity of burgul and some grease which was extremely rank and then served up in wooden platters, which with a quantity of black bread composed the whole of our nourishment until that time the next day; as the Mahometans, of his rank, seldom eat themselves or feed their slaves above once a day and that is after sunset.

Thus forlorn, without food or raiment, anticipating the horrors of a miserable captivity, we stretched ourselves on the bare bricks where we remained all night, tormented with vermin and mosquitos, and at daylight, were driven down to the marine to unbend the sails and do other necessary work on the Cruisers that had captured us. Here we received some biscuit and olives such as was given us at sea, and plenty of good water, and in the evening we were marched back to our Master's house and passed the night in the same manner we had done the one before, with the exception that we got, in lieu of camel's flesh, some boiled mumsa, vegetables and fruits with which, with some wine and provisions given by Christian slaves, we made out tolerably well, but still our fate was not decided and we did not know whether we would be placed at the oar in the galleys or sold to the Arabs in the interior of the Regency. Although our fears proved groundless, they prevented us from enjoying the least repose for, when we slumbered, our imagination painted the horrors of our situation in such lively colors, that we started from the arms of Morpheus very little refreshed.

The next day we were taken, in a kind of procession, to several of the Grandee's houses whom we had not visited on our arrival and who were curious to see Americans, having supposed us to be the aborigines of the country, of which, some of them had an imperfect idea from viewing figures which ornament charts of that continent, and were much surprised to see us so fair or, as they expressed themselves, so much like Englishmen. Ultimately we were taken to the British Consul's house who had ordered us some refreshments and passed his word to our Master that he would be answerable for our conduct while in his house, but advised him to leave a person to prevent us from strolling about the streets. But even here we were made sensible of our situation and exposed to new species of indignities which we did not expect and therefore felt in a superlative degree

We remained here two days and on the third, in the morning, were marched to the Bedistan or Slave Market where we remained from daylight till half past three o'clock without any refreshments, and were treated thus for three days successively, the first and second nights being lodged in our Master's house, and having no better accommodations than we had the first day of our arrival. On the afternoon of the third we were taken into the Dey's palace and paraded before his Excellency when, of our crew, he took five, only leaving Capt. Stephens, and, of the Portuguese, eight, for the service of the palace, and the others sent to the Slave prison as the Regency purchased them all except four or five old men, who

had been sold at vendue, and the woman, who, immediately on her arrival, had been sent to the Spanish hospital, there to remain until ransomed, was likewise purchased by the Regency. We were now taken to the hot bath by the other Christian slaves and cleansed from the filth of the Cruiser, our old rags were changed for a large shirt with open sleeves and a large pair of cotton trousers, a pair of shoes and red cap, all made in Turkish fashion, in which no doubt, we made a curious appearance. We were allowed to remain together that night and fared sumptously in comparison to what we had some time before, and, being clean, slept for several hours as sound as any people could do in our situation. In the morning we awakened much refreshed, and were stationed at our respective duties; two were retained as upper servants, one was sent to the kitchen and myself and another were doomed to labor in the palace garden, where we had not a great deal to do, there being fourteen of us, and, the taking care of two lions, two tigers and two antelopes excepted, the work might have very well been done by four.

Here I had sufficient time to bewail my unfortunate situation, but was ignorant of its full extent. Had I known the different vicissitudes I was to experience, and the length of my captivity, I should have sunk beneath the weight of such accumulated woe. But hope, that sweet soother of all earthly cares, represented that our situation was really not so bad as we had expected, and that we had not been used worse than many of our fellow citizens had been during the Revolutionary war in the different British

prisons; and, being confident that our country would immediately redeem us, I resolved to bear my captivity with as good a grace as possible and not give the Mahometans the satisfaction of seeing me dejected, but alas! I had seen the best part only, I had as yet experienced but few of the bitters of slavery in comparison to what I afterwards suffered.

As I have promised to give a detail of the treatment that Christian slaves receive in Barbary, and as I have experienced a great variety of scenes myself, I will give the particulars as they occur and will likewise take the liberty of making as many digressions as I deem necessary to facilitate my plan for which I most humbly beg the rigid critic's indulgence.

CHAPTER II.

Economy of the Dey's palace will describe the situation of slaves in all the Grandees and rich peoples' houses in the Regency of Algiers, making allowance for the caprices of Masters, some being better and some worse, as in other countries. The Dey's palace is governed by two Hasnadars or Chamberlains and two chief cooks, the latter always eat with the Dey, no other person having any interference with the internal regulations of the Dey's household. The two chief cooks on my arrival at Algiers had thirty-three Christians of different denominations, under their command, besides a number of Moors for doing the out door work, the Christians only being permitted to go out twice a year, on the second day of their two chief festivals. Those Christians are employed in the different offices of the kitchen and magazines of provisions in the palace. The chief cooks only superintend the whole. The two Chamberlains, of which the celebrated Ciddi Aly, afterwards Bashaw of Tripoli, was the chief, had the same number of Christian slaves under their jurisdiction. They were divided as follows:

In the Dey's apartments, which are higher than the rest, the Capo di Golfa, (who is the head slave in the Regency, the Dey's chief Christian clerk ex-

cepted), and four others. These are the Dey's body guards and do nothing else whatever. In the first gallery, or Chamberlain's apartment, fourteen, whose duty it is to keep that part of the house clean, take the dishes of meat for the Dey's and Chamberlain's tables from the kitchen, and in general whatever they were ordered to do, either by the Dey or Chamberlain, no other person interfering with them. Of this class the two coffee servers, whose duty it is to serve the Dey and Grandees with coffee of which mention will be made hereafter. As those are maintained from the Dey's table, they live in general much better than they would in their own country, the use of wine excepted, as no inebriating liquor is permitted to be used in the palace on pain of a severe bastonading and being turned to hard labor in chains, nor is tobacco to be used, when the Dey does not use it himself, which was the case while I remained there. Not so in the garden. Here we had nothing allowed us but a small plate of meat and another of rice mumsa or burgul, and a basin of sour milk twice a day, which was hardly sufficient for four of us, with some oil and vinegar now and then and black bread, such as is given to the slaves at the Marine, and in the fruit season some musk and water-melons. The fruit of the garden was prohibited and kept for the Dey's own use and I have actually known several of my brother sufferers bastonaded for having been detected eating an orange or a small bunch of grapes. Those, who had friends in the kitchen or upper apartments, sometimes would get small supplies, but notwithstanding we were often

seduced to making a kind of salad from the vine leaves to stay our craving appetites, and not unfrequently have committed depredations on the Dey's pigeon house, at the risk of breaking our necks, exclusive of a severe bastonading if detected. We were under the jurisdiction of the Chamberlains and were often used by them in the most petulant, humiliating and cruel manner, of which more in the sequel. There were likewise two Christians called "captains a proa" whose duty it was to keep the lower part of the palace clean, to light the Dey down stairs in the morning, as he always takes his seat at the break of day, to remove the soldiers' beds who sleep at the doors of the treasury and whatever the Prime Minister and store-keepers of the palace should order them, under whose jurisdiction they are all day, but at night they are classed with the cooks, as neither the Prime Minister or store-keepers sleep in the palace. Besides the Christians already mentioned there are a number of blacksmiths who work in the palace but sleep at the prison, and several mulateers to take away the filth of the palace which is considerable, as all the meat that is killed for the use of the palace is kept and slaughtered within the gates, and often have I seen the butcher cut a sheep's throat already dead and set it apart for the Christians in the garden and the blacksmiths; besides the Dey's horses are also kept in the palace with a number of mules and asses for labor, which creates a great deal of dirt which is carried out of the gates of town and heaped up for manure which is sold by the head scavenger as one of his perquisites. Thus are

employed sixty-eight Christians, and the numbers that are employed in the great men's houses are treated nearly in the same manner, and those in the gardens not near so well.

On the 12th of August arrived the Cruiser that captured the Dauphin with her crew on board, being fifteen in number, they had been used nearly in the same manner that we had, but being public property were brought from the Cruiser direct to the palace where they remained all night. It was a consolation to find us here as we informed them of many particulars very pleasing to people in their situation, especially, that there were no galleys in Algiers and that they would not be made to wear chains any longer than the ships of war of England and France were in the bay unless they committed crimes to deserve them; that the officers would be sent to work in the sail loft and the seamen in the Marine, this was so much better treatment than they expected that they began to reconcile themselves to their situation, and, as the clothes which they had on were not taken from them in consequence of their having an old English Mediterranean passport; when washed and cleaned they made a much better figure than we did. When paraded before the Dey the next morning his Excellency chose several of them for the palace and the rest were sent to the Slave prison, which I shall describe when I become an inhabitant of it myself. Captain O'Brien, Stephens and Coffin, the latter was a passenger on board the Dauphin, were immediately taken to the British Consul's house to serve as domestics where they remained suffering

every indignity that inhumanity could devise to render their situation humiliating in the extreme, until the arrival of the Count de Expilly who by the orders of Mr. Carmichael, Charge des Affairs at Madrid, took them under his protection, and hired a small house where they lived very comfortably for sometime upon the supplies furnished them by Mr. Carmichael and their friends in the palace. The Mates were likewise taken out of the Marine and placed with the Captains, but the Marines were left at hard labor and were only allowed three masoons a day to clothe and maintain them which is equal to 7½ cents.

I shall now return to the palace. The slaves in the upper apartments received two suits of elegant clothes trimmed with gold, those in the palace garden had the same quality of clothing with less gold, and the cooks were supplied with clothing somewhat inferior, trimmed with silk, those that are sent to the Marine to hard labor receive one suit of clothes which is seldom worth more than one dollar and a half, and each slave receives two coarse blankets which is supposed to last them the whole of their captivity; the slaves in the palace never receive anything else from the Dey, but those who work at hard labor are allowed a suit of clothes every year of the same value as is given them on their arrival, but no blankets. From what has been said of the slaves in the palace, the reader will be apt to believe that their situation is at least supportable, but the humiliations he undergoes verily make a person of any sensibility even more miserable than he would be at hard labor,

as he has more time to reflect on the rigor of his fate. I shall enumerate a few of the acts of injustice which I either suffered myself or saw others suffer, while I remained in the palace and which every slave is subject to in so great a degree, that a Genoese on his redemption, kissing the hand of Mahomed Bashaw, Dey of Algiers, inadvertently said, "thank God I have been your servant ten years and never received the bastinado once." "Did you not," said the Dey? "Take this Christian and give him one hundred blows on the soles of his feet, that he may not have so great a miracle to tell his countrymen when he returns to his home." The poor man, thunder struck, exclaimed "I am free! surely your Excellency will not punish me for not having committed a fault in ten years' captivity?" "Give him two hundred blows," replied the Dey, "and if the Infidel says a word more, send him to the works again and inform the person, that has redeemed him, that he may have anyone of the same nation in his room. I will keep him till he dies, for his insolence." The poor man received the punishment, immediately went to the hospital to be cured, and embarked as soon as possible with no very favorable opinion of the Dey's justice and clemency, notwithstanding, he was supposed to be the least of a tyrant of any Dey that ever reigned in Algiers. It is written of Hassan Bashaw that he was always in dread of assassination. I will here mention that Hassan Bashaw succeeded the present Dey, Mahomed Bashaw at his death, in 1791. Once, when one of his attendants was assisting Hassan Bashaw to change his linen, the shirt

which he put over his head had not been altered since it came from the Levant, consequently had no place open to put his head through. The Dey's head was in a sack and he, supposing they were going to assassinate him, caught his attagan (sword) and flew at the youth, who being more nimble than the Dey, got out of his reach and his attendants did the same until he grew calm and put up his sword in its place, being convinced that he was in no danger of losing his life and that he was thus encased by the ignorance of the American. Another time, one of his attendants, who frequently walked in his sleep, one night, in his perambulations, frightened the Dey exceedingly. He called aloud for his servants, who awakened the youth, and the blame was thrown on the cats, of which the palace was full. A few nights after the same person dreading the consequence of being met by the Dey in his night walks, agreed with one of his comrades to tie their legs together. At a dead hour of the night the Dey was alarmed by something and called his attendants with great vociferation, the youths, forgetting that they were tied, sprang forward to receive the Dey's orders and overturned one of their comrades against the door of the Dey's apartment, which flew open with a great noise. The Dey thought he was surprised and drew his sword and would certainly have put them to death, had not the darkness of the room prevented his seeing them. This gave an opportunity for them to escape the first impulse of the Dey's wrath and, having tumbled headlong down stairs to loosen themselves, while another was procuring a light, the

cause of the disturbance was explained, which pacified him for the present, but the next day they were both punished with bastinado. Thus was the lives of those unfortunate youths rendered extremely miserable. Every moment they were menaced with bastinadoes, hard labor, chains and death, and, when we consider that the Dey has the power of putting his menaces into execution with as much ease as he has to do any act, no matter how frivolous, we will readily conceive that their situation was by no means enviable, their fine clothes, money and good living not excepted. The Christian slaves in the upper galleries are subject to the same indignities from the Hasnadars, (ie) Chamberlains that those above suffer from the Dey and are often bastinadoed for mere trifles, such as speaking loud, procrastinating any part of the service assigned them, being found out of their rooms after a certain hour, or speaking to any of the cooks or the Christians in the garden, and on a thousand other pretenses. I have heard those illiberal minded Renegades commence an absurd argument with some of the slaves and on being confuted beat their opponents most unmercifully, and tell them they would teach them better manners than to dare to contradict them when they condescended to converse with them. The cooks have harder labor and less money than the other slaves, but have more liberty and, when the chief cook is a good man, which was the case while I remained in the palace, their situations were by far the most tolerable.

The first two months I was stationed in the palace garden nothing very particular happened. We

watched the wild beasts in rotation and performed the other duties assigned us without murmuring and were generally or individually abused by the Chamberlains once or twice a day when they came to wash in order to purify themselves before they said their prayers, and very often some were bastinadoed from mere caprice. As I understood the French and Spanish languages sufficiently to read their authors, I employed myself in reading such books as I could borrow from the other slaves and writing, or teaching some of my companions practical navigation; this procured me the title of the false priest, the moshabbe, and many other names of a similar nature from the Chamberlains, and as the lower class, to ingratiate themselves with their superiors, generally imitate them, these appellations proved a great source of disquiet and involved me in continual disputes both with the Chamberlains and Christians, and as I always refuted their arguments, it ultimately procured me many enemies among whom was Ciddi Aly the Chief Chamberlain, who uniformally persecuted me through the rest of my captivity until he was ultimately expelled from the Regency by Hassan Bashaw. A little more than two months after my admission into the Dey's garden, the slaves were permitted to go out into the town in consequence of the great festival of which the first and last day is celebrated in the palace with feasting, music, wrestling, and fireworks of very poor construction, before the palace gate. In the morning on the first day the banner of Mahomet is hoisted on the palace and the national flag on the fortifications, the cannon of the

fortifications are fired, those next the sea with ball. When the wrestling is ended, the officers of the Regency and inhabitants kiss the Dey's hand while seated on his throne, having the Hasnagi Agas at Hodga Beitelmel and Vikilharche of the Marine standing on his left hand, and the Chauxes and other inferior officers behind them. After the Mussulmen have all performed this act of humiliation and respect, not even excepting the hangman and scavengers, the Consuls have that *honor* conferred on them, next to them the head clerk and then the chief of the Jew brokers of the palace and their dependents. The Dey then invited the five Grandees to dine with him in his apartments, they are joined by the chief cook, and after dinner they retire to their respective houses and the Dey generally goes to visit his lady if he is married, if not he retires to sleep.

The second day is a day of recreation for the slaves, and the third is celebrated in the same manner as the first except the firing of the cannon and visits from the Consuls. The British and French Consuls sensible of the indignity they would suffer by waiting on the Dey the first day of the festival always wait on him the day before, neither do they kiss his hand. On the second day of the festival the slaves are permitted to visit their friends and to absent themselves from six or seven in the morning until one in the afternoon, but are generally excused if they return by three, some few in particular employment excepted. By special grace we were permitted to visit our countrymen at the British Consul's garden which was about three miles from the city,

and there, to our surprise, we found Captain O'Brien with a hoe digging a hole to plant a tree in the Consul's garden; Stephens, with the capote given him by the Regency tied round his middle with a straw rope, driving a mule loaded with manure for the root of the tree, and Coffin, who was consumptive, feeding the hogs and poultry. We could not refrain from tears at viewing their humiliating situation which affected us the more as they suffered this indignity from a person, (the British Consul), who ranked among Christians and gentlemen, was of the same religion and spoke the same language, and from whom a more humane treatment might naturally have been expected. We stayed but a short time, shared the money that had been given to us in the palace among them and returned to town, visited the poor fellows in the prison, borrowed some money from our comrades to give them and returned to the palace with a heavy heart, in order to be immured for ten months, where I remained without once being permitted to go out and was then sent to the Marine in consequence of some young Hollanders being captured on board a Russian prize. I had not been long in this garden before the persecutions of the Chamberlain became intolerable. I was prevented from reading or writing except by stealth and likewise forbidden to speak to any of my countrymen, who were stationed in other parts of the palace. This was occasioned by my frequently retorting on them their insolence and barbarity, and in consequence of my observing in conversation that those, who were base enough to renegade the faith of their

forefathers, generally became the most bitter enemies of those who continue faithful, in order to induce the secretaries, whose tenets they embrace, to believe that they were really converted and had renounced their former opinions or convictions, that they were really erroneous and thus made up for their ignorance by hypocricy and a pretended zeal for what they did not understand. This was reported to Ciddi Aly and Ciddi Mahomed (who were both renegades from the Greek church) probably with additions and afterwards they continued my most inveterate enemies. These deprivations (being prevented from reading and writing) I felt most sensibly and having nothing now to divert my mental faculties I really became a victim to melancholy reflections, my spirits were so much depressed that I fainted several times in a day and, ultimately, was obliged to keep my bed. This was construed by the Chamberlain as a pretense in order to be sent to the hospital to divert myself. The Spanish surgeon petitioned for me without effect; however, he rendered me assistance and with the help of a good constitution I soon recovered. During my illness the Portuguese and Spaniards were continually persuading me to change my religion, to confess immediately to restore myself to the bosom of the Holy Mother church. One old man, who had been nineteen years in the garden, and who had experienced better days, seemed particularly interested for my soul. He very charitably offered to take all my sins upon himself, and to guarantee my full absolution both in this world and the next and then laconic-

ally asserted that if I died in the state of heretical reprobation that I was now in, he would pawn his own salvation that I would be d——d to all eternity. So intent were these poor slaves on my conversion that I really believe, had I proposed to change my faith by subscription, that I would have raised a sum sufficient for my redemption. I had been about four months in captivity when one evening I heard a noise in another part of the garden. Induced by curiosity to know the cause, I went to where the sound proceeded from and found to my no small astonishment the two Chamberlains, diverting themselves, beating with two sticks on the soles of the feet of a Portuguese who roared most tremendously. I asked his crime but received no answer before I was seized by four stout Moors who threw me down, pinioned my legs and arms and the same game was played on the soles of my feet to the tune of twenty-eight hard blows, which produced the most excruciating pain and left me with four toe nails less than I had before this game commenced. All the fourteen were served in the same manner, none were pardoned for age or infirmity, but old men of sixty and children of ten years of age received the bastinado without ever knowing what it was for. After some days had elapsed, we found that we were indebted to the head gardener, a native of Malta, for this refreshment. It seems he had complained that he could not keep us in subjection, that we made use of the fruit which was intended for the Dey, and several frivolous charges, but, as he could not particularize the offenders, the Chamberlains concluded that by chastising

the whole, they would undoubtedly find those who had offended. As for the innocent suffering unjustly that was a trifle of such little moment that it either entirely passed their notice or was deemed unworthy of attention. Twice more was I bastinadoed while I remained in the palace, once for writing and the last time for speaking to some of the Americans who belonged to the upper apartments. In the last were involved seven or eight. My comrade was included who was a simple, ignorant lad who was so much terrified that it had a sensible effect on his mind and I am sure it was the first step which caused him to lose his reason, of which more will be said hereafter. I could never have endured the anxiety and degradation under which I labored for any length of time had I not placed the greatest confidence in the generosity of mycountry. I thought it impossible that a nation just emerged from slavery herself would abandon the men who had fought for her independence to an ignominious captivity in Barbary, when they could be immediately redeemed for less than $50,000. I was not ignorant of the embarrassments that our government labored under before the adoption of the present Constitution, yet the sound policy of redeeming their citizens immediately appeared so evident that I was confirmed in my hopes, and, although I knew the treasury at that period was very poor, I was so sanguine as to believe that the sum would be loaned immediately to the government by individuals, or that our fellow citizens would have raised it by subscription, but I reckoned "without my host," as I lived more than ten years

after this in captivity, experiencing every indignity that Barbarians could invent to render the life of a Christian miserable in the extreme, and I hesitate not to assert that no class of men suffered in any degree so much by the consequences attending the American Revolution as those who were captured by the Algerines in 1785.

The infirmities of age prevented Mahomed Bashaw from visiting the different apartments of the palace so often as formerly. He now only came to the bath in the garden once a month and always before daylight. The Chamberlains, being thus delivered from the apprehension of complaints being lodged against them by the slaves, gave loose to their tyrany and never came to the garden without a stick in their hands and never failed to use it on some of the unhappy captives, and, frequently, I became the victim of their rage. To divert themselves they had two small brass cannon with which they fired at marks, but if they missed they never failed to vent their spleen on the bystanders. To complete my sufferings Ciddi Mahomed had a great propensity to study alchemy and pitched upon me for his assistant, he asked me my opinion of the science. I treated it with ridicule. Sometimes I told him the Emperor Caligula was the first who prepared natural arsenic in order to make gold of it, and left it off in time, as many others would be obliged to do, if they did not wish to ruin themselves as they found the expenses exceeded the profits considerably, and many stories of a similar tendency, but these observations had no effect upon this infatuated man. He

still persevered and every crucible of metal procured me the most opprobrious language; at length he took it into his head that I knew something of the art, and relaxed the rigor of his treatment, and descended to mean adulation in order to induce me to divulge all the secrets of the art with which he supposed I was acquainted. With a little address I might have converted this alchymist from being my inveterate enemy to be my temporary friend at the small price of my conscience, but the truth is I dispised him and my vanity would not permit me to temporize with a person of his character who daily had taken advantage of my situation, and treated me so inhumanely merely because he could do it with impunity. Ciddi Aly likewise ridiculed the idea of making the philosopher's stone, and one day came into the garden and being in a good humor exclaimed, "What the devil is the false priest likewise a gold maker? If the Bashaw knows this he will not let him be redeemed until he turns every cassarole in the palace into pure gold." I said nothing is farther from me my lord, than to have any pretention to the knowledge of so sublime an art. I have read that it has been said in times of ignorance, that the Arabians were supposed to have invented this mysterious art, wherein they were followed by Raymond, Lullius, Paracelsus and others of different nations who never found anything but ashes in their furnaces and repentance in their hearts. So many have been ruined by this infatuating science that it is now entirely neglected and the authors who treated on that subject ridiculed as it is well known that the

quadrature of the circle, perpetual motion, inextinguishable lamp and philosopher's stone have engaged the attention of philosophers and mathematicians from time immemorial without any effect, and with all just deference to Ciddi Mahomed's superior judgment is it reasonable for him to expect to succeed with the small assistance he receives from a few leaves of an old Arabic author, two or three crucibles and a small portable furnace, when so many who have made this art their study for their whole lives and had every convenience that a large fortune could provide, have ultimately failed and ended their pursuits in ruin? "Yes," answered Ciddi Aly laughing, "But they did not possess the charms that Ciddi Mahomed knows." That is possible my lord, but permit me to observe that it would be as easy to charm me into a good Mussulman as to convert that metal in the crucible to pure gold. "Ah! thou false priest, though hardened Infidel! I know that to be impossible, you are destined to take up your eternal residence in the mansions of the d——d." With this he gave a kick to the crucible and walked away with Ciddi Aly who laughed very heartily and Ciddi Mahomed muttered something in the Turkish language which I did not understand. During the time I remained in the palace no mention was made of the philosopher's stone, nor was I used any worse than my fellow prisoners, but in all reason that was bad enough to satisfy the malevolence of a disappointed Greek alchemist, or even the persecuting spirit of the inquisition.

The period now approached that was to put an end to my sufferings in the palace, and to give birth to a new species of indignity. Two large vessels, the one a Russian and the other a Leghornese, were captured by the Cruisers of Algiers, on board of which were several handsome youths who were taken into the palace, and eight of the oldest and ugliest were sent into the Slave prison called the Bagnio Belique in order to be sent to hard labor the next day, among whom was myself and my American comrade before mentioned, but as we had not committed any crime we had none of our clothes taken from us but were permitted to depart with all our wardrobe. As this closes the first year of my captivity, and the next opens with fresh scenes of horror I shall conclude this chapter and in my next give a circumstantial detail of Mr. Lamb's negotiation with the Regency of Algiers which proved extremely detrimental to the captives as it fed them with false hopes of obtaining their liberty soon, and prevented their friends from exerting themselves to procure their ransom, and by deceiving the Dey with unwarranted expectations he committed the honor and dignity of his country and led the Dey and Grandees to believe that the government of the United States was trifling with them and in the event of a negotiation for peace prevented that explicit confidence being placed in the promises of the negotiators on the part of the United States, a sacred adherence to, and compliance with, ought forever to characterize the public operations of contracting powers, especially those divided by so great a distance as the United States and the Regency of Barbary.

CHAPTER III.

On the 25th of March 1786 John Lamb, Esq., Ambassador Plenipotentiary from the United States of America, and Mr. Randall, Secretary, arrived at Algiers in a Spanish Brig commanded by Capt. Basilini. He was recommended by the Count Expilley, his Catholic Majesty's Ambassador and Monsieur du Kersey, his Christian Majesty's Consul General, and Mr. John Woulfe a British Merchant, who had long been in Barbary and was perfectly acquainted with the manner of conducting business in those Regencies. It is worthy of remark that this Cosmopolitan Ambassador was recommended to the agents of the nations whose interests were exactly opposite, and probably did not combine in any one article except preventing the United States of America from obtaining a peace with the piratical states of Barbary. France had for a number of years monopolized the whole trade of the Barbary states, and had established several factories on their coasts; and, by the intrigues of the African Company and Chamber of Commerce of Marseilles, and her agents, had, in a great measure, impeded the success of the different Armados sent against Algiers by the Spaniards and their confederates. So sensible were they of the advantages arising from an undivided com-

merce that exclusive of the stipulations paid for the monopoly of several important articles of trade and occasional presents made by that government to the Dey and Grandees of Algiers, that of their own free will and accord, they presented annually considerable presents of sweetmeats, dried and preserved fruits, comfits, marmalades, pickles, anchovies, olives, catsup, liquor, capilier, orgeat, chestnuts, apples, pears and every other nick-nack that a Frenchman can invent or procure to render himself acceptable. This present generally arrived in December, and latterly custom had so established their expectations that if it did not come in time they demanded it as a right, and annoyed the Consuls continually until it was distributed. This may serve to show how pernicious any innovations are on established customs, and how much to blame the Consuls are to make presents in order to obtain permission to load a cargo of wheat when they deliver their consular or bi-ennial presents. If they give a more valuable watch or snuff box than usual the next presents must be as good at least, thus by degrees the consular and bi-ennial presents have amounted from an inconsiderable sum annually to the exorbitant sum exacted at present, and is generally supposed to be occasioned by the rapacity of the Algerine government when in reality, it has been occasioned by the iniquity of the Consuls. For this reason the British, French, and Spanish Consuls are prevented by their governments from trade, and give them and their secretaries competent salaries to maintain their dignity as representatives of their respective nations; and until the United States

adopts the same plan, they will continually be liable to insult and imposition. It is not therefore to be supposed that the agent of the French government would assist an enterprising commercial nation to share the commerce of the Mediterranean by effecting a peace with the states of Barbary, notwithstanding the stipulation in our treaty with France to that effect, already quoted, as it would evidently tend to the disadvantage of the community of which he is the member. The Spanish Ambassador had it not in his power to be of any assistance to the United States had he been so blind to the interest of his nation as to have attempted it. Hitherto he had counteracted the intrigues of the French agents and merchants established here by the profusion with which he lavished his Master's wealth, and had actually expended more than was exacted for the redemption of the American captives, but one insuperable obstacle he could not surmount, the Dey insisted on the Spaniards delivering up to them the garrison of Oran in the same state that it was then in, which they had not power to grant nor would the Court of Spain pay any attention to any such proposal, having several years prior to this refused the Emperor of Morocco a similar demand in regard to Penon de Welly, Melilla Centa and other Spanish garrisons on the coast of that Empire.

Mr. John Woulfe had been an unsuccessful candidate for both the British and Spanish Consulates of Algiers, though in every respect calculated for either. He had been settled at Tripoli in Barbary as a merchant where he married Miss Aplegath and

moved from thence to Algiers in 1779, and acted as British Consul while that Consulate was vacant, but like many worthy men who are obliged to be absent a long time from home, he had it not in his power to make sufficient interest to obtain the appointment. Mr. Logie had arrived in 1785, and some disputes having arisen between them, they ever after viewed themselves as rivals, and Mr. Logie spared no pains to injure Mr. Woulfe's family when he could find the least pretext to do it with impunity. These events rendered Mr. Woulfe a very proper person to be employed by the government of the United States to negotiate a peace with the Regency of Algiers or to ransom the American captives. He understood the manners, customs and language of the Algerine government, had free access to the head of the Regency, and consequently, was under no necessity to employ a third person, and being disappointed in his expectations of both the other Consulates, it is not improbable that he would propose to himself the American Consulate as his reward for his services in effecting a peace which would induce him to redouble his exertions, especially as he, in a private capacity, could neither be biased by private considerations or national interest, to impede the progress of the negotiations; but on the contrary, his interest combined with ours and as he knew that a peace was unattainable with the Regency of Algiers at the present moment, he advised Mr. Lamb to endeavor to effect the ransom of the captives first, and in the meantime, to make interest with the heads of the Regency and endeavor to induce them

to get the better of the Dey's partiality to Great Britain, which could only be done by their entreaty and a rich present, besides presents to the Grandees for their mediation, but as Mr. Lamb was not furnished with the means for procuring those presents immediately, Mr. Woulfe wisely concluded that it would be advisable to postpone informing the Dey that he was empowered to negotiate the terms on which peace might be concluded until his return with the cash for the redemption of the captives. The Count de Expilley and Monsieur du Kercey were of a different opinion and observed that the United States were not in a situation to expend a large sum of money in bribing the Ministry of Algiers as Spain had done, and therefore, advised Mr. Lamb to make application to the Dey at once as the least expensive way of negotiating though not the most successful. Mr. Lamb took their advice and requested them to wait upon the Dey and request his Excellency to permit him to deliver his credentials from the government of the United States, and to receive him as their Ambassador Plenipotentiary for negotiating a treaty of peace between the said states and the Regency of Algiers. This they absolutely refused to do, which is sufficient evidence that they determined to use their influence in our favor, but after some discussion they determined on the same evening to send the French Consul's Drogoman to the palace (having been properly tutored for the purpose) to make the request. The Drogoman returned saying his Excellency would send an answer in a few days, not being at leisure to weigh the Ambassador's pro-

posal. No answer having been received from the Dey on the 27th of March, Mr. Lamb again sent the French Drogoman to request his Excellency to give him a private audience, and to permit him to ascertain the terms on which his Excellency would conclude a peace between the Regency of Algiers and the United States of America, and to agree for the ransom of the American citizens now in captivity. The Dey answered that there were many insurmountable obstacles to be removed before he could receive an Ambassador from the United States of America to treat on terms of peace, but if Mr. Lamb would content himself to treat only for the redemption of his countrymen in captivity he would receive him in a few days. On the 1st of April, 1786, Mr. Lamb was introduced to the Dey by Monsieur du Kercey and Mr. John Woulfe. Mr. Lamb requested his Excellency to inform him what he exacted for the ransom of twenty-one Americans which he held in captivity. The Dey answered that he did not consider them in the same point of view that he did the subjects of other nations at war with him, that he would expect a much higher price for them and would give an answer at his next audience. On the 3rd Mr. Lamb waited upon the Dey who asked him what he was willing to give for the ransom of his countrymen, when he replied $10,000. The Dey answered "you may have them for $50,000 if you think proper, but nothing less. I am not anxious to dispose of them; they are wanted to work at the Marine; they are the best sailors we have and Belique has plenty of bread and olives to give them."

Mr. Lamb observed that the price was exorbitant and double the price that any other nation paid for their people in the same situation. "You are at liberty to leave them" said the Dey. Mr. Lamb promised to give his Excellency an answer at his next audience and retired. On the 5th Mr. Lamb went again to the palace and offered the Dey $30,000 for the ransom of the captives. The Dey was displeased with his supposing him to be capable of huckstering like a Jew and answered, "I should conceive that I was defrauding the Hasna (i. e.) treasury, were I to abate one dollar in my demand, but as my own perquisite is at my own disposal I will remit that sum which is 10 per cent. and if you are not satisfied I desire you will not trouble me any more on the subject. I told you already that we have plenty of bread and olives to give them." Mr. Lamb promised to consider on the Dey's demand and to give him his answer in a few days. On the 7th Mr. Lamb waited upon the Dey and finding him inflexible he agreed to pay the sum already mentioned for the redemption of the captives, but specified that as the United States were at a great distance, that he could not promise to return with the cash in less than four months from his departure from Algiers. The Dey answered the sooner he paid the money the sooner he should have the captives. Mr. Lamb retired to the French Consul's house where the Dey sent his own Drogoman a short time afterwards to desire him to come to the palace. He immediately complied and the Dey interrogated him to know whether he was perfectly contented with the agree-

ment he had made. He answered that he would have been better content had the terms been more favorable, but that he ratified the agreement and hoped that his Excellency in consequence thereof would be disposed to listen to his proposals of peace on the part of the United States when he returned with the cash. "Make peace with your father the King of England" answered the Dey "and then come to me and I will make peace with you." He then ordered Osman Hodga, principal Secretary of State, to register in the books of the Regency that the American had agreed to redeem twenty-one American prisoners for the sum of $48,300 Spanish dollars prime cost, and had promised to return with the cash in four months from his departure from Algiers. Mr. Lamb took leave of the Dey and returned to the French Consul's house The event was the topic of conversation for several days. The American prisoners were in a manner reanimated and resolved to bear the remaining four months of their captivity with becoming patience and fortitude. No further hopes were entertained of procuring peace at present, but Mr. Woulfe determined to try every justifiable means to lay the foundation of one by Mr. Lamb's return with the cash, and anticipating success, advised Mr. Lamb before his departure to wait upon the Intendant General of the Marine who had great influence with the Dey, and to endeavor to engage his good offices in our behalf. With these views Mr. Lamb waited on the Intendant General at his garden and was introduced by Capt. Basilini. None of the gentlemen to whom he was recom-

mended choosing to be present. Mr. Lamb solicited his mediation with the Dey in favor of the United States, but was answered that the United States had chosen an improper time to sue for peace; that Spain had not terminated her affairs with this Regency; that their subjects were still in captivity; that there was no knowing what turn affairs might take before they were finally settled; that the government of Algiers made it a rule never to negotiate for peace with two Christian powers at once; that, exclusive of the above impediment being in the way of our negotiation, the Dey had private reasons for not admitting him in that capacity at the present time; that for his own part he was well disposed towards the Americans himself, but that under existing circumstances Mr. Lamb could not help seeing the inutility as well as the impropriety of his interfering in the affair when the Dey had given him a positive negative already. Mr. Lamb left Algiers without making any further application to any person and left the prisoners in the lively hope of seeing him with the money for their ransom in four months, the limited time. They little imagined they were to remain over ten years longer in captivity after the honor of their country was pawned for their redemption, but nevertheless that was the case. I was not informed at this time by whom Mr. Lamb was empowered to negotiate or whether he was empowered at all, but that he made the agreement and that the government of the United States never ratified it, the consequences of which was no confidence was placed in anything that was said in our behalf and we re-

mained nearly eleven years in the vilest slavery are facts as incontrovertible as they are lamentable. I have since been informed that he was empowered by Messrs. Jefferson and Adams and I have seen the copy of their letters (1787). Had Mr. Lamb been a man in every way adequate to the task he had undertaken, circumstances were such when he arrived in Algiers that he could have effected little more than he did; this however was not the case as he was extremely illiterate and as vulgar as can well be imagined, which did not create the most favorable opinion of the government which he said had sent him, nor were the impressions which he left behind him at all favorable to himself or his fellow citizens in captivity. It may not be improper in this place to observe that the idea cherished by our government at that period, that the redemption of the captives would effect our obtaining a peace was extremely erroneous, for the Barbary states detain captives on purpose to have it in their power to impose what terms of peace they think proper on the nations who claim them as citizens or subjects. But that was not the case in regard to us at Algiers, for in this as well as in every subsequent negotiation no impediment was placed in the way of our redemption, independent of any stipulation being made for peace, consequently we could not affect it in any other way than by depriving the government and their agents of a source of intelligence which might be depended on, but I could not for a moment suppose that they would keep a number of men in slavery for eleven years and more without even furnishing them with the means of

subsistence, had no better means for doing so than the above existed; and although our government at that time was poor, they could easily have raised the sum exacted for our redemption. One cargo of tobacco sold in England, France or Holland, would have paid our ransom. In consequence of her most Faithful Majesty sending an efficient force to Gibraltar to prevent the Cruisers from Barbary proceeding to cruise in the Atlantic ocean and the Dey sending his Cruisers to assist the Grand Signior against the Russians in the Black sea, nothing was attempted against the nations at peace with Algiers, nor did any negotiation of moment take place for some years. The first was an attempt made by Messrs. Bushara and Danino, Hebrew merchants, to ascertain the sum exacted for the remainder of the Americans who had escaped the plague. This they effected in 1790, not without some difficulty, as will be seen by the transactions of that period. In the meantime I will continue my narrative of the treatment we received from the departure of Mr. Lamb until the above mentioned negotiation took place, which terminated exactly as Mr. Lamb had done.

CHAPTER IV.

Three months had elapsed since the departure of Mr. Lamb, when the Christians arrived which caused our expulsion from the palace garden. We were in lively expectation of a speedy redemption, but I must candidly confess that I was not so sanguine as a number of my fellow sufferers; we had heard nothing from Mr. Lamb since his departure, and I conceived that in three months (had he a credit in Europe) he would have given the Regency some account of his proceedings, and considering that he had likewise requested to negotiate a peace, I naturally concluded that he would be obliged to communicate his proceedings to congress before any step would be taken towards our redemption, and consequently, did not expect to be redeemed in less than nine or ten months from his departure from Algiers; nevertheless I was rejoiced to leave the palace garden, as at that period I could not conceive that a more humiliating situation than mine was in existence. I was convinced that the honor of our country was connected with our redemption; that it could not possibly be protracted for more than a year at the utmost, and I finally resolved to bear the hardest labor accompanied with hunger, nakedness and all their concomitant miseries in preference to the senti-

mental afflictions I then suffered. I was likewise actuated by so strong a desire to change my situation in hopes of procuring information which would enable me to ameliorate it, and be the means of alleviating the sufferings of my unfortunate fellow citizens, that I really viewed my expulsion from the palace garden as the greatest blessing that could befall me under the existing circumstances. On the evening of the 29th of July, 1786, the Christian chief clerk of the Dey and Regency informed the captives in the palace garden that he had orders to conduct eight of them to the Bagnio Belique, as the Dey had thought proper to replace them with the captives newly arrived. Accordingly two Portuguese, two Americans, and four Spaniards, among whom was myself and unfortunate companion, were selected and ordered to prepare ourselves immediately. My wardrobe was contained in a small basket, which with two blankets, a few books and papers, a four-dollar gold coin and two sequins in gold, constituted the whole of my worldly possessions. We left the palace without regret as we were ignorant of the situation we were destined for, but we were soon undeceived, and for myself I candidly own that I found a great deal of difference between the Bagnio Belique and hard labor at the public works, and the palace garden with all its evils, but the nature of mankind is such that they are never sensible of the blessings they enjoy until they are deprived of them, when they learn to appreciate their value by comparison. We rejoiced that we had escaped the humiliation of taking care of wild beasts and keeping

the garden in order, and the tyranny of the two Hasnadars, but did not consider that seeking to avoid Scylla we had fallen upon Charibdis and were now exposed to the more ferocious Ibram Rais Guardian Bashaw, and his numerous minions, a more motley crew than whom never breathed the ambient air. I observed that the Regency only allows the slaves in the palace their living on their first arrival, they are ever afterwards obliged to furnish themselves with every article of apparel from the perquisites they receive, which are collected from the coffeegies in the following manner. When the Beys, Caliphs, Alcaides, Sheiks and in general every stranger who is permitted the honor of drinking coffee with the Dey, including Christian Ambassadors and sometimes Consuls, are presented with coffee, when they return the cup they put a quantity of gold according to their rank into it and give it to the coffeegie, who depoits it in a box in the Dey's apartment. His Excellency generally makes a small addition to it himself and divides it twice a year among the captives according to his own pleasure. It sometimes amounts to $3,000 annually and is seldom less than $2,000, which is sufficient to supply all their wants as well as to enable them to assist their brother sufferers at hard labor in the nauseous prisons called the Bagnios, of which there are three, which shall be described in due season. The coffeegies, in addition to their share of the money extorted in a manner from the Dey's visitors, are allowed to pester the Beys and Caliphs when they visit the Hasnagi and chief cooks, and seldom fail to bene-

fit by their impudence. Several of the other slaves are likewise permitted to waylay those great men on the palace stairs and under the pretense of paying their devoirs by kissing their hands, likewise levy their contributions while they show their respect in proportion to the sums they receive, which, if not equal to their expectations, which seldom is the case, never fail to curse the supposed parsimony of the donor. Once when Salah Bey of Constantine, who was very liberal, was retreating from the Dey's palace with as much expedition as possible, his patience and cash being nearly exhausted, he was saluted by an inferior Moor of his province, who was employed by the Dey. Here, says Salah Bey, take your revenge, giving him some money, your countrymen shall reimburse me on my return to Constantine. I am at Algiers what your Sheiks are there, they complain of the exactions which it is my duty to make upon them in order to pay the tribute due to the Dey and Regency; but if they had once made a tri-ennial visit to Algiers they would marvel at my moderation and be no way ambitious of the apparent respect which is shown me by the different classes of the inhabitants, which has cost me so many thousands; but so long as Bobba Mahomed (meaning the Dey) is content, then I am perfectly satisfied. May the immortal Allah prolong his reign in happiness and internal peace, beloved by his subjects, and feared by his enemies. There are other Christians who have likewise a right, founded on custom, to pay their respects to the Beys and Caliphs among whom are the Dey's chief attendant in the palace (who

carries them the Caftan or role of honor from the Dey, who is rewarded by the Beys with about two hundred dollars and by the Caliph with about half that sum) the Dey's chief Christian clerk, his clerk and several others, besides those unhappy men are made to disgorge their ill acquired wealth in all the Grandee's houses where they visit, and, generally, return to their government completely fleeced, and commence their impositions on the Moors, the different tribes of Arabs, the Jews, and every other class of beings whom Almighty Providence has subjected to their yoke, with surprising alacrity and without the least shadow of remorse, being stimulated thereto by the treatment they themselves have received at Algiers, and the fear of being deficient in the sum to satisfy the avarice of the Dey and Grandees and inhabitants of that city, when the period arrives for their return with the tri-ennial tribute.

On our arrival at Bagnio Belique we were introduced to Ibram Rais, who acted as the Guardian Bashaw, in consequence of his age and sickness he was soon afterwards confirmed in the post, the superior guardians having died of the plague. I shall only take notice of him in that station where he remained during the rest of my captivity and several years afterwards. He was at this period guardian of the large pontoon for cleaning out the harbor and was generally supposed to be the most cruel, unrelenting guardian that had ever been in Algiers. He had lately returned from Malta, where he had remained in captivity for fourteen years, and

having been cruelly treated himself on board the Maltese Galleys, he was determined to retaliate on the slaves whom he had under his command, and revenge the insults he had received at Malta, upon the innocent men who were not even of the same nation, for at this period he had not even one Maltese under his command and there were but two of that nation in the Regency, who were captured under the Portuguese flag by the same cruise that I was. The reception that we received from this petty tyrant will both characterize the man and deliniate the horrors of our situation. He was sitting under the gallows at the outer gate. In the porch were a double row of guardians Sbirro all armed with sticks, thick rope, and other offensive weapons, the guardians who were soldiers being also armed with attagans (swords) and pistols, and the walls of the porch were decorated with clubs, halters, chains, shackles and handcuffs, the whole forming the most dejecting "Coup de Oeil" that imagination can possibly conceive. "Well, gentlemen," commenced Ibram Rais, "so you were not content with your situation in the palace and have preferred my acquaintance to the Hasnadars. You are all young and healthy and too well clothed for slaves, you shall have something to divert you tomorrow at Bebel Wey'd, I will show you there how I was treated at Malta. Here, Sbirro, put stout rings on these gentlemen's legs and let them be awakened and brought to me before daylight at the Marine gate."

The head clerk now interfered and informed him that we had committed no fault and that the Hasna-

dar had ordered him to have them sent to the Marine. "They shall go to the Marine," answered the surly Guardian, "but from thence I will send them where I please, they don't know what slavery is yet; it is time they should learn; I have not forgot the treatment I received from Christians when I was a slave." I observed that I was an American and that it would be extremely hard for me to suffer for the injuries he had received from the Maltese, who were situated at the distance of 6,000 miles from my country and were likewise of a different religion, which taught them from time immemorial to view the Mahometans with emnity; but that in America there probably had never been a Mussulman and that we never had been at war with any nation of that religion. "True," answered he, (curling his whiskers), "but you are Christians and if you have not injured Mussulmen it was not for the want of will, but for want of power, if you should chance to take any of our Cruisers how would you treat our people?" "That will entirely depend on how you treat those of my nation whom you have captured," I answered, "and you may be assured sir that my nation will retaliate upon those who treat their unfortunate citizens with undeserved cruelty." "Slave!" answered he, "I am not accustomed to listen to the arguments of Infidels; you are too loquacious for a young man; retire immediately and for the future be silent and obey." "I shall obey sir, but never be silent while there remains a higher tribunal to appeal to." My fellows by this time had all kissed this tyrant's hand, and we were ushered into the prison yard and there

left to shift for ourselves, having first had a large iron shackle bolted and riveted above our ancles, which weighed about 20 ounces. The Sbirro informed us that we might have it changed for a small iron ring, by paying a sequin each to the Guardian Bashaw and 12 masoons to him for his trouble and for the ring. I felt too indignant to give him any answer, and my American companion did not understand him. No sooner had this ceremony ended than we were obliged to give in our names to the clerk of the prison, and were ordered to hold ourselves in readiness to march to the Marine gate at daylight the next morning; at the same moment the Sbirro called out in a most tremendous tone thrice distinctly Capi Capar (e i) which in the Turkish language means we are closing the gate, when immediately emerged from the taverns a motley crew of Turks, Moors, Arabs, and even some Jews, all intoxicated, some half naked, having sold or pawned their clothes to the Christian tavern keepers for liquor, others singing or shouting, some with drawn swords swearing they would kill the first person that offended them and some few reeling peacefully to their habitations or, if soldiers, to the public barracks. The gates of the prison were then shut for the night and a heavy chain was drawn across the inside of the outer gate and the inner one was bolted and locked; the prison was now under the control of the Christian Corporals who were all deserters from the Spanish garrison of Oran, where they had been banished from their country, either for murder or theft, and before their appointment here, had in general signalized them

selves as the most hardened villains in the Regency. As these Corporals have a tavern allowed them free of excise they generally mark such Christians as they suppose to have money or are in the way of earning any, and if they do not frequent their tavern, are continually persecuted by them, as the prisoners at night are entirely under their command and an unfavorable report in the morning from one of those miscreants will not fail to procure the person complained of a severe bastinadoing and several weeks in chains besides. They have power to keep any person that displeases them the whole night chained by the leg or the neck to a stone pillar, of which there are several in each prison, and in the day time they can persecute any of the slaves with impunity while at their labor and place them at the hardest and most disagreeable work. It is therefore at least prudent to keep on as good terms as possible with these petty despots and to occasionally bribe them, which will not fail to procure rest and frequently exemption from labor for several weeks successsively. They are likewise receivers of stolen goods and share with the Guardians the product of this kind of commerce, and not unfrequently the blame is thrown on innocent persons to whom they owe some private pique, while the culprit is allowed to go unpunished and revel with them on the plunder they have taken from some poor Jew or Christian, and frequently Turks and Moors share a similar fate; nevertheless a number of those robbers are detected and severely punished when they have not made their peace with the Guardians through the agency of the Corporals.

It is necessary to observe that these robberies are in general committed by deserters from Oran (which are here called Carneros (i. e.) sheep) as they come into slavery like sheep to the slaughter and are not captives but voluntary slaves. Between such classes great distinctions are made, as none of the former were ever employed in the palace or Grandee's houses, or were made clerks of by the Regency until very lately that the latter became so scarce that they could not find enough to do their domestic work. They are now more mixed than formerly and it is worthy of observation that few crimes are committed by people taken at sea, and when a crime is committed the mistrust falls on those people as their iniquities have made it a proverbial saying among the Mahometans that any bad person has acted like a "Carnero from Oran" as they believe them with great reason to be capable of anything. In this prison are kept all the criminals, and sometimes forty or fifty are here chained two and two together for months, nay, some for years, for different crimes. The jingling of chains adds horror to this dismal dungeon beyond conception, which with the stench and unnatural imprecations and blasphemy of some of its miserable inhabitans, makes it really a perfect pandemonium. I will now proceed to describe this receptacle of human misery.

The Bagnio de Belique is an oblong hollow square, 140 feet in length and 60 in breadth, is three stories high and may be about 50 feet high to the top of the terrace. The whole of the apartments are built upon arches and have no windows except a

small iron grating in each of the upper apartments, and receive the light and air from the doors. The lower story has no grating and is converted into taverns which are kept by the Christian slaves who pay their rent and very high duties for permission to sell liquors and provisions in them. They are perfectly dark and in the day are illuminated with lamps, and when full of drunken Turks, Moors, Arabs, Christians, and now and then a Jew or two, especially on Fridays, the day the Christians are sometimes permitted to rest in the prison from their labor, forms the most disgusting "Coup de Oeil" that can be imagined, especially when you add to the noise an instrument called a triboocca, a tabor or quinterra, and a guitar and sometimes a fiddle and Turkish guitar, and not unfrequently an Italian mandolin and Spanish guitar, each singing or rather shouting in different languages, without the least connection, the place filled with the smoke of tobacco which renders objects nearly impervious to the view, some wrangling with the tavern keepers for more liquor and refusing to pay for it, that upon the whole it must resemble the infernal regions more than any other place in the known world, especially, when they frequently quarrel among themselves and proceed to blows and even murder often takes place in those receptacles of vice and immortality, which generally occasions the tavern keeper to lose all his property as the tavern is in the most instances seized by the Regency and the tavern keeper sent to hard labor unless he bribes the Guardian to make a favorable report of the case. It is impossible for any person

to conceive or even to believe when related what innumerable ways and with what avidity the Corporals and Guardians search for occasions to plunder those poor wretches and in general all those that receive money during their captivity from friends or having ingenuity or industry to earn it. In all the prisons in the evening may be seen different tradesmen at work, among which shoemakers, tailors, carpenters, coopers, sawyers, and some hucksters are those who meet with the most constant employment and make the most money. Before slaves became so scarce in the Regency a number of slaves of this description were permitted to remain in the prisons to work by paying the Regency one dollar per month and bribing the Guardians and spending their evenings at the Corporal's tavern, but latterly few can gain this permission and none except some Christian Consul or merchant becomes responsible for their conduct. Formerly this favor was obtained through the influence of the slaves in the palace or Grandees' houses, but so many misbehaved that at present the free Christians will not be responsible for any only those whom they employ in their own houses, even if permission could be procured from the Regency. The second and third story of this dungeon is surrounded by a small corridor or gallery from whence are entrances into long, narrow rooms where the slaves sleep. They are hung in square frames one over another, four tier deep, and they repose as well as mirerable wretches can be supposed to do who are swarming with myriads of vermin of all sorts, many nearly naked and few with anything more than

an old tattered blanket to cover them with in the depth of winter; for those who have the means of subsistence either live in the tavern or little boxes called rooms, built of boards hanging round the galleries for which they pay the Regency from twelve to fifty-four masoons per month, notwithstanding, before the Spanish and Neapolitan redemptions in 1787, and the mortality by the plague, numbers of those forlorn outcasts were obliged to lie in the galleries or wherever they could find shelter from the inclemency of the weather. In the center of the prison or very near is the well from which water is drawn from the cistern, which is nearly as large as the whole prison and was formerly supplied from the terrace of the prison with rain water, but is now partially supplied when necessity requires it from the waterworks of the city which shall be described hereafter. The whole of the building is covered with a terrace which has only two communications with the prison. It would be a great recreation to the slaves, especially in the summer, were they permitted to walk or sleep there, but that is strictly prohibited; one communication is through the Dey's chief clerk's apartment and the keys of the other are kept by the head Corporal, consequently none are permitted to go on the terrace but whom they please, and as they are generally such different characters the Corporals seldom make use of the privilege to the great satisfaction of the chief clerks who are by no means ambitious for the society of this class of men. The chief clerk's apartments are comprised of two handsome rooms and a kitchen, which with

the convenience of the terrace renders them both pleasant and commodious, and as they have four large windows which serves to ventilate them they are exempt from the stench which is insufferable in other parts of the prison. As there are two other prisons I will proceed here to describe them in order that the whole miserable scene may be comprehended by the reader at one view and a comparison drawn between them. They all have their inconveniences but the Bagnio Belique is the most miserable.

The Bagnio de Gallera or the prison of the galley slaves was so called because those who formerly used to row in the Algerine galleys were here confined and after it was rebuilt the name was continued because the Neapolitans who ran away with two galleys of that nation about the year 1750 were the first inhabitants of it when completed. It is built on the same plan as the former but is only two stories high and not so long, the taverns are the same and so are the long rooms, but on the terrace are two tiers of small rooms, one above the other, inhabited by those who are able to pay for them, which is one great reason why the better sort of slaves prefer this prison to any of the others. The greatest inconvenience in this prison is in consequence of the lions and tigers being kept there which creates an insufferable stench, which joined to the common shore of the hospital which communicates with that of the prison corrodes the atmosphere that in the summer season it is nearly suffocating. I have known twenty-seven animals of this description to have been kept at once in this prison which are maintained at the

expense of the Christian tavern keepers. They frequently break loose and have killed several of the slaves as they dare not destroy them even in their own defense, and if very ferocious an order must come from the Dey and some of his guards are then dispatched to shoot them before the evil can be removed. The offals from their dens serve to maintain an enormous number of rats, the largest I ever saw, which frequently serve to satisfy the craving appetite of some of the poor slaves. Cats are likewise eaten from mere necessity, and once in particular I asked a Frenchman what he was going to do with it after skinning, he laconically answered, "Ma foi it faut Manger." During the plague this prison, in consequence of its communication with the hospital, had the greatest number of its inhabitants destroyed with that contagion.

The Bagnio Siddi Hamouda. This is the smallest Bagnio of the three and has every misery common with the other two, but is not regularly built, being composed of three or four old houses with communications made from one to the other. It takes its name from its former owner. Thus have I described the three prisons in which from two to three thousand miserable wretches have been confined, in consequence of the policy of those commercial nations which make a point not only to suffer their incorrigible insolence and arrogance, but likewise to feed their avarice and forge pretexts for them to commit depredations upon every nation which endeavors to share the commerce of the Mediterranean with them; when by stopping the dishonorable

tributes paid by them to those Pirates, redeeming their slaves and stationing two Frigates each in that sea for four or five years, the Barbary States would become as contemptible as the little Republic of Lucca, and if we add to this the influence such a coalition would have at the Ottoman Porte their total annihilation would eventually take place. The dissensions which such a measure would produce among an idle soldiery would open a prospect of success, should the inhabitants of the city or Arabs of the country revolt, and could the Divan of the Sublime Porte be prevailed on to prohibit recruits from enlisting themselves under their banners, Algiers would be the first to feel the effects and with her would fall Tunis and Tripoli, which would enevitably tend to a change of government, which in the event would produce a change of measures, and the nations of the world would be liberated from the excursions of those Pirates who have, from time immemorial, committed depredations on their property and enslaved their citizens and subjects. But this union of sentiment is rather to be wished for than expected, for it is an incontrovertible fact that no war has been declared by those marauders for the last century that has not been instigated by some of the commercial powers in opposition to their rivals in trade, and the failure of all the Armadas sent against them by Spain may be justly attributed to the advice and assistance they constantly received from France, and especially through the medium of the Chamber of Commerce at Marseilles, which had in a great measure monopolized all the most valuable branches of commerce in all the Barbary States.

I now return to my initiation into the dungeons of Algiers. While ruminating on the horrors of my situation I received an invitation from the Dey's chief clerk to stay in his apartments until I had time to provide for myself which I thankfully accepted, but could not enjoy his civilities, my imagination was wound up to such a degree that I was nearly insane. I retired to rest on his sofa but slept but little and awaited the approach of day in anxious expectation of knowing my fate. About 3 o'clock in the morning the awful summons was given from the tremendously cadaverous lungs of the Sbirro, "Arise! all those who sleep, the day approaches!" and a short time afterwards, "Depart, sleepers! each one to his daily labor." We all marched out at this warning and proceeded through a narrow street toward the gates of the Marine just at the time that the gates of the city were opened, and the influx of camels, mules, asses and laborers was so great that we could hardly pass. The animals were loaded with provisions for the market, palace and Grandees' houses, and the slaves, instigated by hunger, were endeavoring to steal as much as they could which produced such a scene as I have not words to describe. The Moors uttering curses and threats of "Which Christian dog, Infidel dog without faith, I will have you bastinadoed to death" were the most distinguishable among this motley crew. We proceeded until relieved by the turn of the street towards the mole, and then marched at my ease to the gate where we were all paraded in rows, the Guardians being in front, seated on a brick seat made

for the purpose. Here we waited about a quarter of an hour when the Vikilharche, Belique, Bashaw, Captain of the Post and other officers made their appearance and marched through the gate followed by the Guardians and slaves who on the Vikilharche's first appearancs must stand uncovered until he passes them some distance. The Dey's chief clerk took us to the Guardian Bashaw who presented us to the Vikilharche, who after asking a number of questions and receiving a favorable account of us from the clerk, we were ordered to our respective destinations. My comrade and myself were sent to the carpenter's shop. I was immediately apprenticed to a genteel looking Spaniard, a native of Barcelona, who had been a cadet in the Spanish service, but for some irregularity was sent to serve in the garrison at Oran from whence he deserted in hopes of regaining his liberty, but was taken into custody by the Arabs of the western province and sold to the Bey of Mascara, who brought him with a number of others as a part of his tri-ennial present to the Regency of Algiers, of which a proper mention will be made when we come to treat of the Bey's public entry, of which I was several times a witness during my captivity. This man despairing of ever being redeemed by Spain, abandoned by his relatives, had applied himself to learn the trade he was put to on his first arrival at Algiers so effectually that at present he was really the best house carpenter in the Regency, and consequently was employed on the out-door business, such as working in the Grandees' houses, and was very much in favor. The eight

months I was with him I constantly accompanied him and as I understood French, Spanish and Portuguese tolerably well I had an opportunity to get much information and to study the manners and customs of the people to whom Divine Providence had made me subject. During the period that I worked in the city or for the Marine I was well provided with one good meal a day, which the Regency paid for exclusive of the allowance which we had in common with the rest of the slaves, and had our duties been confined to the duties of the carpenter's shop alone there would have been no reason to complain of hard usage, but that was not the case, for whenever any hard loads were to be carried, the ships of friendly powers that brought presents to be discharged, the ballast, guns, and ammunition to be taken out of the Cruisers or put on board again, which was done every cruise be it ever so short, then the apprentices in all the shops in the Marine were taken out and employed on that duty as well as in clearing out the magazines, fortifications, and other occasional jobs, and not unfrequently they were sent on board the Pontoons to clear the harbor of mud and stones and likewise to bring heavy stones from the Ponto Piscado to throw at the back of the mole to prevent the sea from breaking over in stormy weather; and at this period a large magazine war building adjoining the Vikilharche garden at Bebel Wed, about one mile from the city, large enough to contain all the gunboats belonging to the Regency. This magazine was built upon arches, and the earth that was dug out to lay the foundation was after-

wards used to form the terrace. During this work frequent drafts of men were sent from the Marine and on Friday, the Mahometan Sabbath, all the slaves that worked at the Marine, with the exception of a few favored workmen, were sent to this employment which was much worse than the labor of the whole week. Figure to yourself above a thousand poor wretches, many of them half naked without hat or shoes, at work in the heat of the sun all day till four and sometimes till five or six o'clock on a summer day, carrying earth in a basket to the top of a high building, exposed to the heat and often blistered with the sun, chafed and scalded with the weight of their load, the perspiration flowing from them; add to this that they only received two small loaves of black bread of seven ounces each in all the day and a very small portion of horse beans, probably without any oil, as their small allowance is given out the day before and is generally either stolen or made away with in some way or another by the people to whose care it was intrusted, and on their arrival at the prison at night they then receive a loaf of the same sort of bread, but weighing twelve ounces which is all they ever receive on Friday, but on working days there is a mess of burgul boiled in the Marine, mixed with a quantity of butter worse than tallow, and as it is taken out of the jars by the slaves without any caution in order to get as much as it is possible to sell to the Moors; it frequently happens that they find rats, mice and other animals boiled in the burgul, which is by no means a pleasant addition to their mess; nevertheless I have seen many hundred

during my captivity sit down to some buckets of this stuff, substitute a chip for a spoon and eat as voraciously as some of our epicures would turtle soup, terrapin or venison pastry. The grease that is used in this mess is what remains in the stores after the soldiers are occasionally served from the annual tribute which Tunis pays to this Regency, and of course is the worst part of it, and some of it has been laying several years with the mouth of the jars uncovered; formerly a certain amount of this stuff was served out, but as no Christian ever eats it that can get anything else the officers find it advantageous to let the Christian cooks take what they please, of which a quantity is always left which the cooks daily distribute to the dogs and cats of the Marine, and certain poor Arabs who attend for that purpose always giving preference to the former, so that a person whose stomach could bear such nauseus food need not starve, but if that was the case with all the slaves or were the provisions of such a quality that they could partake of it the abundance would cease and burgul would be as scarce as any other provision. This magazine before it was finished fell in two or three times with the weight of earth that was placed on the top; in every instance all the people who could be spared from the other works were sent to clear this earth away and to assist in repairing the work. No rest was allowed on Friday and even those slaves who paid by the month were called for on those occasions with the exception of two or three from each Consul's house. This place was built under the inspection of one Demetrius, a Greek

master mason, and when finished was found not to answer the purpose it was intended for near as well as a common shed would have done, for, exclusive of the distance those heavy gunboats had to be hauled before they were housed, the arches interfered with each other in such a manner and took up so much room that the boats were obliged to be turned several times and stand one on the top of the other, and as this was done by main force, strength of the slaves, the boats when put by frequently were in a worse condition than before they were repaired, and in case of a sudden armament appearing could be of no service whatever. Since that period the Algerines have placed their gunboats close under the walls of the city in a dry ditch where they can launch them in a very short time and I am informed are kept in readiness for actual service. It would however take them three or four days to mount the artillery and make preparations in sufficient force to annoy an enemy that might make his appearance on their coast or bay, and as those boats have no sails and are quite open like Spanish launches. In a sea, nay, or even in a fresh breeze, they could easily be destroyed, provided they came from under the fortifications which in number of guns are really formidable so that the gunboats of Algiers may be considered rather as a defensive armament than calculated to act on the offensives, but in a calm would annoy an enemy exceedingly unless they were furnished with small vessels with oars to counteract their operations. As I have commenced with a description of the Marine force of Algiers I will conclude this

chapter with an account of their actual Marine force in 1786 and a description of the Marine or mole of Algiers with all its fortifications, moorings, magazines, workshops and conveniences, which shall in some measure include a description of the site of Algiers.

CHAPTER V.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CITY OF ALGIERS.

The city is built on the side of a steep hill. From the Alcasaba or highest part of the city, were a line drawn to the island that forms a part of the mole, and from which the city took its name, it would make an angle of about thirty-five degrees. This island is situated about a furlong from the gate of the Marine and is joined to the main by a causeway of stone—the work of the slaves for more than two centuries. This, on the north side, forms a barrier to the sea and is much higher than the southeast side which is next the mole and is all made land in like manner as the mole of Genoa, Leghorn, and other places in the Mediterranean, where the tide only ebbs and flows a few feet at full and change of the moon, but not near so well finished. On this lower road are several arched magazines for timber and other articles for ship building, and near the margin are old cannon set in to make fast the moorings of the small Cruisers that carry a tier of guns, and for the moorings of Christian merchantmen, likewise the galliots or quarter Gallies being hauled on those in the navy yard every winter. At the end of the causeway next the island, the Kiosk, where

the Admiral Captain of the Port and sea Captains are seated daily, which may be said to form a court of admiralty and formerly was without appeal, but of late years the Intendant General or Vikilhadge of the Marine interferes in all questions of any moment and the whole proceedings are subject to the control of the Dey, as indeed everything else is at present, through his Ministry, who have usurped the whole power of the Regency to themselves and sanction their proceedings with the Dey's name who is now very old and infirm, and is kept in ignorance of almost all the domestic concerns of the Regency, each Minister governing in his own department as he thinks proper and most to his own interest. At the other end of the causeway are the gates of the Marine which are tolerably strong and situated at right angles to each other so that cannon could not burst open both gates together, but must be first brought to bear on the outer gate and then on the inner. Between the gates are seats for the gate keeper and a few old soldiers who sit there in the day time only, and within the inner gate is the Donanne or Custom House where a Hodge sits with some scribes and assistants to collect all the export duties—the import duties on dry goods being all collected in the Dey's palace by one of the four Secretaries of State. Over the Marine gate is a battery of several pieces of cannon and one large piece of artillery with seven cylinders—which is more for curiosity than use—which commands the causeway, and at the end opposite and close to the Kiosk is a brass six-pounder used as an alarm gun when

anything extraordinary happens in the Marine at night, such as any of the Cruisers breaking their moorings, etc., and is fired at the option of the Captain of the Port who always sleeps in the Marine in bad weather, and in the summer season only sleeps in his own house Tuesday and Friday nights. The reason the gun is fired is to inform the Dey that it is necessary to send the keys of the Marine gate which are kept in the Dey's palace from the time it is shut at night until it is opened in the morning, in order that the slaves may be sent down from their prisons to do what the exigencies of the case requires. Next the Kiosk is a small but elegant mosque built by Cid Aly when Intendant General of the Marine, supported on pillars and paved with marble from Genoa, and next to it is the coffee house for the accommodation of the Captains and officers of the Cruisers. On the right is the Light House Castle which was built by the Spaniards when they were masters of the island, but has since had additions made to it. It mounts at present three tier of guns, the largest of which are thirty-six pounders, but the upper tier were seldom mounted, and it was crowned with a large lantern which was illuminated with oil and was always kept lighted when the Cruisers were out, but is badly attended to at other times, and when they were at war with Spain was not lighted at all when their Cruisers were in Port. Under this castle is a subterraneous vault which was used as a powder magazine, but during my captivity the gunpowder was removed to the Alcasaba, leaving only a small quantity there for present use. It has likewise a

reservoir of excellent water and a great quantity of cannon balls deposited therein of all sizes, thrown in promiscuously, and from thence are removed to other places of deposit and to the different batteries. On the point is a new battery of two tiers of guns which were not mounted when I left Algiers, the lowest of which are but a few feet above the level of the sea, and in gales of wind from the northwest to the east point of the compass this point is hardly passable, and the spray of the sea flies over the fortifications, but in good weather this battery from its situation and number of guns is really formidable. The mosque communicates by a small room to the magazine by a staircase which contains every article necessary for immediate use, and the keys of all the magazines and repositories of stores, under the inspection of the Intendant General of the Marine, Belique Bashaw, or Regency storekeeper, and the Hodge or Turkish secretary, with a Christian clerk called Clerk of the Marine, and from six to eight Christian slaves who were selected from those taken at sea, of the best characters, and until lately that slaves became scarce, none from Oran were admitted. Before this store, under an arch, was the Intendant General's seat, composed of pillows covered with embroidered velvet, placed in a niche on which was a kind of bed composed of sheep skins, with a fine red blanket and a carpet, and in summer an upper covering of silk which served him both to sit and take a nap upon when he pleased; to the left of which was a large narrow seat, covered less magnificently with a carpet, which served for those to sit

upon who came to pay their respects to the Vikilharche or Intendant, where they are served with coffee, and some few favorites who smoke are furnished with a lighted pipe by the coffeegie, who is the chief of the slaves in that department, the scrivan or clerk excepted, who has nothing to attend to but his books. On the right hand is a large square divan appropriated for the use of the Belique Bashaw and Turkish Hodge, and on one side is a small place where some old slaves are kept to make plats and gaskets out of old ropes, and used likewise for a temporary prison for crimes committed either in the prisons at night or at the works in the day time, which, if of great magnitude, are sent to the prison in the Dey's palace, who passes sentence on them, but petty offences are punished immediately before the Vikilharche's seat. The culprit is thrown down on his face and by a pole six or eight feet long, with two loops of cord, which are put about his ankles, his legs are held up by two men to present the soles of his feet, his head and hands tied behind are secured by one of the Guardians who sits upon his shoulders, the Guardian Bashaw and his Myrmidons are each furnished with hoop poles an inch or more in diameter, two of them commence in very regular time to give him from one to five hundred blows, which are generally divided between the soles of his feet and the posterior. The culprit is then either put in chains, sent to labor, or to the hospital to be cured, according to circumstances. Behind the prison is the basket makers shop, and in a line with it is a large box where the black bread

for the slaves is deposited, who regularly parade in the morning and at meridian every day before the Vikilharche and with profound submission, their caps in their hands if they have any, receive each time a small loaf and then move off in regular file before their task masters, silent as mutes. At a small distance is the pitch house where pitch and tar is boiled, and opposite the squiffa as the porch is called, is the landing place for all boats of ships of war which frequent this city from whence the Commodores pay first their respects to the Vikilharche before they proceed to town to visit the Dey or their respective Consuls. If the boats are not sent out of the mole immediately their masts are ordered to be struck and their oars are landed and are under the private guard of some of the officers of the Marine, who keep a strict lookout, lest their slaves should seize them and endeavor to make their escape, notwithstanding, that they are always put in half chains when any of the vessels of war of Great Britain or France are in the roads. These nations invariably refused to deliver up any slaves who may be so fortunate as to take protection under their flags. Other nations, and more shame for them, have given up this point to save a little trouble and are dispised for it even by the Turks and Moors themselves.

The Intendant in the morning makes a light repast which he receives generally from his lady's house, if he is a married man, of which the Belique Bashaw and Turkish Hodge generally partake, and between 10 and 11 o'clock six covered dishes made of copper, well tinned both within and without, made to fit over

each other, filled with roast and boiled mutton, fowls, etc., with a large dish of pillaw or cuscussoo generally cooked with fowls cut up in pieces, a large copper basin of sherbet and another of leben are regularly brought from the Dey's palace, and as much more from his own house, to which is generally added some choice fish, brought by the fishermen as presents, but always paid for most liberally by the Vikilharche, and which is cooked by the slaves in the squiffa, which, with the addition of excellent bread composes the daily dinner, to which are invited the Admiral, Captain of the Port, and any favorite Rais or acquaintance who may be at hand, and if they happen to be more than five or six the Hodge is obliged to surrender his seat to the stranger and eats after they have done, with the Christian clerk, the Moorish secretaries, the chief of the Pisqueras, and some of the master mechanics who generally find some pretense to come about that hour, although none are regularly invited but the master ship builder and master sail maker, but this depends entirely on the will of the Intendant for the time being, after all the Christians of the squiffa go to dinner and they generally fare well, seldom neglecting to save some of the nicest articles for themselves, and it seldom happens but that there is more than they can eat which is given by them to their friends. I had forgotten to mention that the fruits of the season are sent from the palace and Intendant's house and are eaten as with us as a desert.

I shall here describe the manner of serving dinner to the Vikilhadge, as the only difference that occurs in the houses of all ranks is that in their rooms the better sort do not use pine tables, but a handsome octagon stand, made of some fine wood, inlaid with mother of pearl and tortoise shell, about eighteen inches high, on which is placed the sofra, which is a large round copper waiter, well tinned, on which the provisions are placed, and in lieu of sitting on fine stools they sit on the carpet cross-legged if of equal rank; but those who eat with the Dey are obliged to kneel and sit back on their legs, and in this disagreeable position eat their meals. The same rule is observed in other houses where the rank is different, except the masters of the house invite them to sit at their ease. Bread is cut in slices and placed before each person with a spoon as the meat is all cut up small, and when fowls or other poultry are brought whole they are so much cooked that they are easily pulled to pieces, therefore knives and forks are not used. The table is covered with a narrow piece of muslin somtimes worked or embroidered at the ends and is several yards long, which is coiled round on the table so as not to touch the ground. Everything thus prepared, the company is sent for who wash inside the magazine. The table as before prepared and stools are taken and placed in the porch, a curtain is drawn across, the company seat themselves, place the table cloth on their knees, and the Chief Christian with a clean napkin on his shoulder, places the dishes one at a time before the guests who wait

until the inviter commences, and then each one serves himself with spoon or fingers, according to what is before them, shorba or soup leads the van and caboot or roast brings up the rear; fish, when there is any, is then served, and cuscussoo or pillaw, which is always a standing dish, is the last put on the table, which is cleared and the fruit is then put on. Sherbet is sometimes handed round afterwards, but most commonly is supped with large spoons made of tortoise shell with ivory handles tipped with coral or amber, which are used for no other purpose. The smaller spoons are generally made of the same materials or some fine hard wood, and are enriched and ornamented according to the wealth of the owner. They are brought from the Levant for presents as an article of trade. When the principal drinks or finishes his meat the company wishes him health, as we say, "much good may it do you," and he gives thanks to God in three words, rises from his seat followed by his company who retire to wash as before. The table is taken away, the curtain drawn, the crumbs swept away and everything restored to the same order as before dinner. The Vikilhage takes his seat, the company return, are served with coffee and sometimes with a pipe when the superior smokes himself, but not otherwise. They then rise according to rank, kiss the Vikilhage's hand and retire, and thus ends the repast and ceremony.

I have been more particular in this detail as there is no difference in their manners if we except the very lower classes of the Moors, who we frequently see sitting in the streets, eating cuscussoo out of

a wooden bowl by handsful, without any spoon whatever, and are a most filthy set of beings; but the inhabitants of the city, the Jews excepted, are as cleanly a race of beings as any in the world and none are more abstemious, this however is from economy and not principle, for when they are invited by their superiors they generally eat most voraciously, what we would imagine to be an enormous quantity. This they sometimes endeavor to excuse by saying they eat more than they would in compliment to their host, who, they say, would not have invited them if they were not perfectly agreeable to him. To proceed, to the right of the squiffa are the workshops for coopers, carpenters, ship builders, pail makers and blacksmiths, in which last place alone are employed upwards of sixty Christian slaves, and I have seen merchants, doctors, priests, and play actors, with a number of other characters blowing the bellows there together and bewailing their misfortunes in concert.

From this to the point of the mole are three castles, first the Castle of Sardinia, the Castle of the Cordelieros, so called because it is converted into a rope walk, and the Castle of the Point, so called from its situation. These fortifications form a continued chain of two tier of heavy pieces of artillery, mostly all of brass, some of which are as handsome as any in the world, and as these castles are in a semi-circle, the whole Marine from the Kiosk to the point may be considered as one continued fortification, which, if kept in good order, is very

capable of repelling a considerable force by sea, but as none of these castles are assisted by mines or advanced works, the soldiers destined to defend them cannot be kept, and their whole defense must consist in discharging their cannon and musketry from the walls; and as their cannoniers or artillerymen have neither science nor practice, and their soldiery consists of Turks, Kuloglus and Moors, without any discipline whatever, their officers being as ignorant of military tactics as themselves, accustomed to have all their labor done by Christian slaves who in time of invasion would be sent into the country at a distance from the city, those troops would be entire strangers in the works they had to defend and hardly able to mount a cannon if dismounted by the enemy, even were they a more active and intelligent race than they are, which, joined to most of the fortifications being built of a brittle sort of stone, the splinters of which would do as much execution amongst them as the balls of the enemy, induces me to believe that although the terraces of the castle are said to be bomb proof, that according to the present mode of warfare a few resolute battalions covered by a squadron of ships of war would soon be able to reduce the whole Marine fortifications of Algiers, which might soon be followed by the entire destruction of the city if the government thereof did not think proper to capitulate.

At the north angle of the Marine is a large cannon mounted on a carriage and placed opposite to an arch which serves as an incumbrance. This

gun was brought from Constantinople, is twenty-two inches in diameter, about twenty-one feet long, and is hooped with iron. It is intended to throw marble balls, but is now never used. Tradition says "that once a French Consul was fired off towards the French fleet who were bombarding the city," but the account in my opinion needs confirmation. At about half a furlong to the W. S. W. of the mole is the fisher's gate or "Al Bebal, the gate of the sea." This gate is defended by a double tier of cannon which likewise commands the entrance of the mole and the road before it. Within the gate fishing boats, gun boats and sometimes small galiots or quarter gallies are built by private individuals. The gun boats are for government. In the Marine, which is an oblong figure, are ways for a Frigate, a Brig of War, a Galiot and fourteen gun boats, which is the greatest number of vessels I ever saw building or repairing together, and there was not room for putting up any more. But notwithstanding there are great quantities of naval stores in the Marine, there is by no means as great a quantity as is generally imagined fit for use, great quantities being spoiled by the dampness of the stores exclusive of what is stolen by the slaves and sold in the town to merchant vessels in the harbor. I have known whole cables of a large dimension disposed of in this manner in the middle of daylight, and as this could not be done without the connivance of some of the Guardians and storekeepers it is not uncharitable to suppose that they shared in the plunder. Pieces of sail, duck, planks, boards, baskets of nails and iron work,

whole jars of oil, and even barrels of gunpowder have been embezzled in this manner and passed through the Port of the Marine on pretense that it was for the service of the Regency either within or without the city, and in this manner the slaves in general indemnify themselves for the loss of their liberty and the Turkish Guardians furnish themselves with the means to procure silver mounted arms and fine clothes. The mole is about two hundred fathoms long and one hundred broad. The depth of the mouth is about seven fathoms and gradually decreases. There are two Pontoons which are likewise used for heaving the vessels down by constantly being employed in cleaning the harbor of mud and large stones. This is done entirely by slaves and is esteemed very laborious and disagreeable work. Those Pontoons are also sent to the Punto Piscardo frequently and generally on Friday (when the slaves ought to be allowed to rest in the Bagnios) to load large stones, some of which are several tons in weight, in order to throw them on the back of the mole to prevent the sea from breaking over in bad weather and is most laborious work.

As I intend giving some idea of the Marine force of Algiers for some years, it will be better comprehended by giving an account of their outfits and their manner of proceeding when they go out and when they return from a cruise. The Cruisers when in the mole are all dismantled, every article even the ballast, which is small stones and sand, is on shore distributed in their respective stores each Cruiser having one appropriated for its use, so that on board

the Cruiser nothing remains but the yards and top masts and standing rigging. They are moored head and stern a few feet on under the stern fasts of the large Cruisers, being fast on a large island near the mouth of the mole where a pitch house and stores likewise are built but not often used. Merchant vessels of all nations are moored also in a tier in the same manner farther into the mole where the water is shoalest, and several times Frigates have been moored at the mouth of the harbor as well as large store ships which have brought tribute from different nations. The mouth of the harbor is constantly guarded by two large row boats which have a compliment of twenty-one men each, but seldom have so many on board. These boats are for the express purpose of preventing slaves from attempting to run away with boats either belonging to the mole or Cruisers; the fishing boats never being allowed to enter the mole for the same reason. These boats must consequently first be overpowered by the boats of any squadron that would attempt to destroy the Cruisers in the night by fire ships or otherwise, but as they are lulled into security by no attempt of that kind ever having been made upon them, I imagine they would not be very alert, and if they were they would not make any great resistance if boarded by any of our brave tars. When the Dey gives orders to fit the Cruisers out there is an embargo laid on the merchant vessels in Port and the slaves are kept until dark; each Cruiser has a boatman or rather rigger who has three or more sailors under his command to repair the rigging while the vessels are laid

up. They are all hove down, their bottoms caulked and paid every cruise be it ever so short, and the Marabouts or holy men pronounce a benediction and pray for their success against the enemies of the true Mussulman faith. This ceremony is indispensible as the Moorish sailors would not go to sea in them if this was omitted. The guns, ballast, ammunition and every article necessary is then put on board by the slaves. The provisions which consist of biscuit, oil, vinegar and olives, some bad butter, mumsa and burgul sufficient to furnish one hot meal every seventh day for the crew, is all that is allowed by the Regency and of that only full allowance for forty days is ever put on board. Those who wish to fare better provide for themselves—thus all the quarter deck and stern is strewn with jars and baskets of one sort of provision or another, and the vessel is lumbered in the same manner in every part for the first few days after her departure on a cruise. The water casks being stowed away empty are now filled with water in bulk, taken along side from the watering place in the Marine (which is a very good one) by the slaves, who as they do not have to make use of it themselves are not very particular as to cleanliness. This accounts for it corrupting in a few days. Lastly the sails are bent by the slaves, the Algerine colors are hoisted with the flags of the Grand Signore and principal Maraboots, the flags of nations with whom they are at war, especially the nation against whom the cruise is particularly intended, are hoisted on the jib stay, reversed in token of derision, and guns are then frequently fired to announce their

being ready to sail and to assemble the crew. The Tayfe or government are mostly all Turks and are soldiers including the officers who are composed of Turks, Moors and Kuloglos seldom amount to one-third of the crew. These furnish themselves with arms at their own expense and consists of attagans, muskets and pistols, and some of the officers have short blunderbusses which they have either taken in prizes or plundered from vessels of Christian nations with whom they are at peace. These are governed by an Aga, Chaonx Hodga and subaltern officers who are appointed by the Dey by the recomendation of the Grandees, who with the Rais and officers of the Cruisers form a council who during the cruise have power of life and death, but they seldom assert their authority farther than bastinadoing or imprisonment for fear of the consequences upon their return to Port. Those of the crew who may be called seamen are composed of those who have been more or less cruisers at sea, and while the Cruisers are in Port exercise different occupations as tailors, shoemakers, barbers, etc. The remainder of the crew is made up of inferior Moors and country Arabs, which when all the Cruisers are fitted out at once are sent on board by force and driven down to the mole by the hangman and his deputies like a flock of sheep, and have nothing with them but what they have on. When the Cruisers are full of men an officer sits with a wooden bowl full of beans and another with an empty one, the crew are then all ordered to take a bean out of the full bowl and pass around the main mast and put it into the empty one, which are then

counted and the number of the crew ascertained, which if it surpasses the complement, which in the large Cruisers is five hundred, the infirm and oldest are picked out and sent on shore. The Cruisers are then unmoored by the slaves and Captain of the Port and his mates, with the assistance of the slaves, conducts them clear of the mole head and they make sail out of the bay, and as they pass the Maraboot salute him with several guns and then proceed to sea. The Christian slaves then haul up the moorings and repair them against the Cruisers return. On the Cruisers return after a fortunate cruise, from the time of their appearance in sight of the city they discharge cannon, and have a number of flags and pendants flying with the colors of the prizes they have taken flying forward reversed. The Captain of the Port and his mates and the slaves assist to bring the vessels into the mole, and to moor them as they were before they sailed. Demonstrations of joy ensue according to the number of slaves they have made and the value of the prizes. When they are unfortunate no guns are fired, no shouts of joy are heard, everyone seems dejected, and the Captains are frequently degraded and even bastinadoed, imprisoned or dismissed, especially if the Tayfe complains of their conduct or they have not implicitly obeyed their orders, which are generally given by the Dey in consequence of intelligence communicated to him by the Jews, who are regularly informed of all the nations at war with the Barbary States, who load at the several Ports in Italy, Marseilles and many other Ports in the Mediterranean. When there are slaves on board the

Dey's and Regency's chief Christian clerk goes on board, immediately take charge of them and conduct them first to the Vikilhadge's seat in the Marine and from thence to the palace and makes his report to the Dey. The slaves are permitted to remain in the palace all night, and the next morning early are taken before the Dey's seat by the head clerk again, who selects those he thinks proper for the palace, and the others are conducted to the Bagnio Belique and their names, nation, and particulars of their capture entered into the books of the Regency kept in the head clerk's office, who is the chief of the slave department. He then delivers them over to the Guardian Bashaw, who the next day sends them to labor after being once more paraded by the head clerk before the Intendant General or Vikilhadge of the Marine. While the slaves are mooring the Cruisers the Christian Captains, Mates, Supercargoes and all the slaves who work in the slave loft, are sent on board to unbend the sails. All the crew, the Stewards excepted, leave the vessel immediately and take with them whatever belongs to them, and the slaves proceed to dismantle them and to lay them up as before they were fitted for the cruise be it ever so short. Although the crews of the Cruisers are very numerous not more than half of them are armed and are composed of the same material as before described, who never see the vessel from the day they arrive to the day they sail and not always going in the same Cruiser, it is to be imagined they are not the most formidable, and for the first day of the cruise must be in great disorder. They are sensible

that the vessels of Christian nations are far superior to them in working their guns, and for that reason after their first fire they attempt to board, and although but indifferent sailors and worse gunners, nevertheless active, daring and intrepid, believing no nation able to withstand their impetuosity and seem sure of victory if they can lay you on board, for that reason boarding ought to be guarded against and as an enemy they ought not to be undervalued.

Having described the fortifications of the mole or Marine of Algiers I will continue to give a particular description of all the fortifications around the city beginning at Al Casanbah, the ancient palace of the Moorish kings, which is built on the highest part of the city and forms the western angle of it, being of an octangular form and contains several apartments, the largest of which is now converted into a magazine for gunpowder. It is reported by all the Moors that when their last king, Entemi, was murdered by Horac Barbarossa, A. D., 1516, that all the money that was then found is still kept there, be that much, little or none, which is most probable. An Aga and guards sit there before the gate in imitation of the Dey's guards at the palace, and peacocks and peahens are kept there and every external respect is paid to the place as if it really continued to be a royal residence. This is done in compliment to the Moors of this Regency, who are still attached to the families of their ancient Monarchs and would willingly throw off the Turkish yoke if they had an opportunity offered them which promised success. The angles of the Casanbah have

regular embrasures and have several pieces of cannon mounted for its defense. There are five gates in this city, the Marine and Fisher's gate already described, the North gate or Bebal Wed together with the North angle of the city and the South gate or Bebazoon with that angle of the city. Each gate is defended with a Bastion and have several pieces of cannon mounted on them and in several places are pathways. Bebal Jedect or the new gate has a square, upright battery and between the palace and the Fort of Al Casanbah, both towards Bebazoon and Bebal Wed, are several embrazures and some cannon mounted on them and in several places are pathways with parapets and loop holes for small arms in case of invasion, but little out of repair. The ditch which formerly surrounded the city, except a small space at the North and South gates which in time of an assault would be very little service, is entirely filled up with rubbish from the Al Casanbah to the gates of the Bebazoon and Bebal Wed, is near half a mile on a descent of twenty or thirty degrees and is commanded by the guns from the Emperor's Castle.

The environs of Algiers to the southward and eastward I cannot better describe than by the following extract from my journal:

"A party of slaves having been ordered to be ready by two hours before day to proceed several miles to cut rushes for the use of the coopers, I asked leave to accompany them, and at the appointed hour passed through the gate of Bebazoon all mounted on mules, and passed several tupanas or

batteries which were planted round the head of the bay until we came to the river LaHaratch, which we crossed at about four miles from the city by means of a stone bridge, which had been well built but was in a ruined condition, and on a white marble stone was engraved an inscription in the Turkish language which none of the company could read. From thence we passed through a small swamp and proceeded on a tolerable good road in a direct line with Mount Atlas, and crossed the river again towards the south, then traveled about two leagues farther when we arrived at the marsh where the flags grew, which from the excessive heat of the sun was almost dry. We there refreshed and while the people were cutting the rushes and loading the mules I took a ride for about two hours into the country and saw several of the cabails or mountaineers, who seemed to be an inoffensive race of beings and such as we would suppose the first cultivators of the earth were. I proceeded until the river ran nearly south and Cape Temendefust, the northeastern Cape of the Bay of Algiers bore northwest, the roads here divided, the one leading towards Constantine and the other to Media. I here saw a family of Arabs washing at a spring of fresh water. They presented me with some prickly pears and some unripe pomegranates, for which I satisfied them with six masoons, equal to fifteen cents, with which they seemed perfectly content. The eldest of the children was a girl of about twelve years of age who held my mule while I alighted. She had a pleasing countenance and was tolerably fair. They were all dressed

in woolen garments or blankets called Hayke, fastened over the shoulder with a skewer and thrown loosely around the body, tied round the middle with a piece of the same manufacture. The country except in their gardens and plantations, which were all walled in, resembling the first settlements in America, and which produced all the fruits of Barbary in abundance, was entirely uncultivated, but had a few scattering wild fig, date and pomegranate trees growing, and great quantities of wild mint, sage and some coriander, which grew spontaneously. I returned to the marsh by the same way we came. I found the people who had been in the swamp bleeding in consequence of the leeches, of which great numbers were in the swamp. Some of the people had eighteen of them sticking to them at once. I returned by the road which led to the sea side, leaving the rest to return by the road they came. The country through which I traveled was barren and sandy, and nothing worthy of notice occurred until Cape Temendefust bore north, there a ridge or hill of quicksand of a considerable height, which runs about half a mile and entirely obstructs the passage between the head of the bay and the country, and serves as a natural bulwark against invasion so far as it runs. Between this and the Cape is a tupana (battery) and on the Cape is a castle in which a Turkish garrison is always kept. About two miles from the ridge towards the town is a battery of seven twelve-pounders, and there begins the entrenchments thrown up in the year 1775, when the Spaniards landed here under the command of

Gen. O'Reily, the chief command having been given to Don Pedro Castigon. The remains of these entrenchments approach to within about two miles of the city, but are going fast to decay, and are defended, that is between the aforesaid battery and the city, by about sixty pieces of cannon, which were when I saw them all dismounted and in a ruinous state, the carriages being in a magazine built on purpose in each battery, where they are coated with tar as well as the guns once a year by the slaves and no further care is taken of them, and many that I saw were entirely decayed. This bay is also commanded by the Emperor's Castle, so called by the centre having been built by the order of Charles V. in his unfortunate expedition against Algiers in 1541, and would render landing in the bay very dangerous was it kept in good order; neither would it be an easy matter to take it by storm as it is furnished with a drawbridge, but at present most of the guns are dismounted and is only garrisoned by one Turkish family, who reside there to take care of the magazine wherein a quantity of gunpowder is laid by.

"So secure do the Algerines conceive themselves from invasion that they have neglected to fortify a hill which the Christians call Belvidere, situated just above the town to the westward, and commands both the city and the Emperor's Castle, and would undoubtedly be the first place an invading General would take possession of. At the distance of two miles in this direction Algiers with its Marine fortifications, vessels in the mole and bay, its minasets and number of beautiful country seats in its

vicinity, forms one of the most beautiful prospects in the world, and if this country was blessed with a good government which would promote the welfare of its subjects and encourage agriculture, arts and manufactures, it would become in a very few years a perfect paradise; it would also become a commercial nation of considerable importance and from a "Den of Thieves," which it is at present, it would rank among the civilized nations of the earth. But the jealousy of the trading nations of Europe will prevent that from ever taking place, unless they should be entirely subdued. What a pity such a character as Napoleon Bonaparte, with one hundred thousand men under his command, had not a footing in Barbary; with that force he would subdue the whole of the Barbary States from Salu to Derma in less than twelve months. From Bebal Wed gate to Hassan Bashaw's garden, against the walls of which is built the large magazine to lay the gunboats up in, is about one English mile to the northwest. This magazine is no longer used for the purpose it was built, the gunboats, when I was last in Algiers, being laid up in a dry ditch contiguous to the walls of the city, near this gate. This place was formerly used for a rope walk. At about a furlong from the gate is the Castle Siddi Ako-leet, built in a more regular manner than any of the other fortifications, having a small mine running from it to a short distance, which was used for a powder magazine, but it being near the sandy bar it was found too damp for the purpose and the powder was conveyed to Alcasanbah. This fortification, with another called

the Star Castle, from having five acute angles, commands the bay to the westward and is capable of giving great annoyance to an enemy who would attempt to land here; but as the guns and carriages are generally out of order and it is only garrisoned by one family of Turks, they might easily be either taken by a regular assault or by being surprised. The Emperor's Castle likewise commands the Castle of the Star as well as the bay to the east. Between the gate of Bebal Wed and the Dey's garden is a large burying ground, common to Moors and Turks, and likewise the seven cupolas which are the sepulchres of seven Deys who were elected and murdered several years ago. These cupolas are very conspicuous from the sea. Next the sea is the Christians burying ground where all Christians of whatever rank are interred in the sand a few yards from the wash of the sea at high water, no other place being allowed them. The Jews have several burying places which have been purchased at enormous prices by their ancestors, and even at this day they continue to pay for the privilege of being buried there. The Christians are allowed to bury their dead gratis. From the Dey's garden to the Ponto Pescado near Cape Caxines is about four miles, and is beautifully interspersed with country seats. The coast is likewise guarded by several batteries which are of no use whatever, the coast being guarded by nature with rocks and precipices, which would effectually prevent boats from attempting to land there, and it would be dangerous for ships to approach near enough to cannonade, even was

there any object in that quarter which would warrant the attempt. At the Point is a fortification with a small garrison."

Having described the fortifications of Algiers I think it not an improper place to give an account of their naval force, from the date of my captivity to the return of their squadron from the Levant, the manner of equiping them having been already described.

EXTRACT FROM MY JOURNAL.

On the 17th of July, 1789, in consequence of the war between the Ottoman Porte and the Empress of Russia, five large Cruisers were sent to the Levant (to Constantinople) under the command of Hadgi Soliman, formerly Captain of the Port of Algiers, in order to join the Grand Signore's fleet to be employed against Bussia, viz:

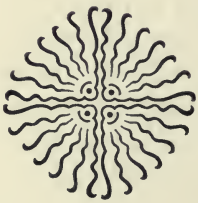
One *Xebec of thirty-four guns, one Saettia of thirty-two guns, one Saettia of twenty-eight guns, one Saettia of twenty-six guns, one Saettia of twenty-two guns, one †Javeque of fourteen guns, three Quarter Gallies, fourteen benches with seventy men each, fourteen open sail of gunboats fit for service, and forty more entirely out of repair on which the carpenters are employed. The above composes the whole naval force of Algiers to which so many nations pay tribute.

There is very little in the city of Algiers which attracts the notice of strangers, the streets are narrow and dark, especially in the Jews' quarter. The only

*The one that took the Dauphin, August, 1785.

†The Javeque, the one that captured the writer, July 25, 1785, remains in the mole.

good streets are the main streets leading from Bebazoon to Bebal Wed passing the Dey's palace, and the one leading from near the Dey's palace to the gate of the Marine, passing by the great Mosque and the great Coffee house. The public buildings are the Dey's palace, the Mosque, the Public schools and the Slave prisons, which I have already described and will describe the others in order, beginning at the Dey's palace.



CHAPTER VI.

The Dey's palace is composed of a number of buildings built at different times, having communication with each other by galleries, terraces, open arches and some doors irregularly thrown together without attending to any order of architecture, either ancient or modern, and stands upon a space of about an acre square comprising the Dey's garden, the whole of which is enclosed either by its own walls or the walls of the adjoining buildings. To describe the whole of this irregular mass will be difficult, I will however attempt it, commencing from the palace gate. Going towards Bebal Wed nearly in the center of the town is the Dey's palace, on the left hand is a large gate, the only entrance to this seat of despotism, through which passes all the beasts of burden belonging to the palace as well as to the Dey and Grandees. On each side of this gate and opposite at one side are seats for the Nobagias or palace guards, who are thirty-two in number, but seldom all present at one time. Before the palace gate is a square area covered with grape vines, the fruit of which no conscientious Mussulman will eat in consequence of all Christians who are beheaded for any crime being put to death under these vines, and when heads and ears being sent in from the interior being

piled up under them until buried by the Jews or Arabs who are met in the street, when the Dey orders them to be taken away. Around this square is the Aga Hanute or seat as likewise the Kiegias, the chief surgeons, the Dey's barber and several seats of the police officers, also the hangman. The gate is covered with a terrace which is surrounded with a gilt railing in the center of which is a flag staff mounted with a gilt crescent on which the banners of the nation as well as those of the Grand Signore and Mahomet are hoisted on Fridays and festivals, and on the bairams a band of Turkish music sits and plays in this gallery. Under the flag in the porch is a marble fountain constantly running, and seats where the Grandees sit every evening, Tuesdays and Fridays excepted, where they converse together for a short time and receive the compliments of those who pass by or in and out of the palace. By the gate hangs a large chain, which besides serving to secure it has this particular privilege, that any person whatever, that has been ill-treated by another and takes hold of this chain and cries with a loud voice, "Justice in the name of God," is immediately taken before the Dey who will administer impartial justice upon the spot; but if the plaintiff is found to be in the wrong he is sure to receive a severe bastinadoing. From the porch you turn to the left into a large Court yard paved with marble. The first thing that strikes you is a narrow, dark staircase by which the Dey ascends and descends, which bears no proportion to the rest of the building. The only reason assigned for not altering it is that in case of

rebellion, of which they are always in dread, but few people could get up at a time and the Dey would be able to defend himself longer than if the staircase was wider. Around this Court on the left hand from the staircase to the upper end is a piazza, under which the Moorish Chaouxes and Secretaries sit, the marble pavement is there raised one foot and at the upper end is the Dey's seat, composed of the same material as the Vikilhadges of the Marine already described, and indeed all the Grandees' seats are made in the same manner. On the Dey's right hand is the large divan where the four Turkish Hodges or Secretaries of State sit and where archives of the nation are kept, which consists of a few large books and papers, the whole not comprising as much paper as would be found in the office of a country attorney. This place as well as the Dey's seat is under a handsome piazza supported by marble pillars, having a marble fountain in the center and ornamented with looking glasses brought from Venice. Around towards the right are the doors of the two Treasuries before which thirty-two Nobagias sleep every night on mattresses. From this Court you go under a large arch to the right and come into a paved Court which leads into the lower part of the palace. In this Court is a blacksmith shop with several Christian slaves constantly at work shoeing horses and other necessary work for the palace, from hence is a stone flight of steps which leads to the terrace where several Christians are kept employed cleaning fire-arms. The lower part of the palace contains the slaughter house and a place to keep sheep, firewood,

etc., and where I have actually counted one hundred and fifty cats at a time, all sprung from a favorite pair of a former Dey, and notwithstanding several sacks full are turned out annually their number seems to increase. To describe the rest of the palace it is necessary to return to the staircase by which the Dey ascends; this passes by a small room where the Captains, a proa before described, sleeps and keeps their brushes, etc., for keeping the Court yard clean and leads to a neat gallery paved with china tiles, which runs the whole length of the kitchen. In this gallery the chief cook has his seat which the Dey, as in Pharaoh's time, occupies for some time each afternoon, and from thence administers justice; and not unfrequently the Christian Consuls receive the Dey's order to write to their governments to send such articles as he requires, and threatens that if they do not arrive in such a time, bastinadoing and imprisonment. Above this gallery is another of much the same description in which there is a much more magnificent seat than any of the rest, but seldom used. Here the Dey receives Ambassadors and gives them their private audiences, and when the Dey wishes to honor the Grand Signore's Ambassador in a particular manner, the Dey seats him beside him on this seat, but this very seldom happens as the Embassies from the Porte are seldom of an agreeable nature, mostly being to demand restitution for property plundered from the Greeks, Emperor of Germany's subjects, and those of the Republic of Ragusa, who navigate by special license from the Grand Signore, and their peace

with the Barbary States is under his immediate guarantee and specified by a passport under the seal of the Ottoman Empire called a Firman; nevertheless the Barbary States frequently capture their vessels and enslave their subjects. This gallery communicates with apartments for slaves, store rooms, etc., which are used for the different purposes of domestic economy. There is a large room where the slaves of that department eat and sleep, with a gallery before it which leads to the Coffee house, where coffee is made for the Dey and Grandees and for any one who has ingress and egress from this terrific mansion. From these terraces you descend towards the garden, in the center of which is a small neat house, which was built for the Seraglio of Bobba Ally, the predecessor of Mahomed Bashaw, the Dey who reigned when I was captured, but it is now used for store rooms for carpets, blankets, etc. From thence you descend through the kitchen appropriated to the use of the cappa negros, and then enter into the precincts of the garden by a paved covered yard, where is running constantly by pipes as fine water as any in the world, with which the garden is supplied. There is likewise a large oven here which is but seldom used except when the Dey's Bagnio is heated. From this Court you enter the house in the garden which is two stories high, the Court is paved round with marble and has a large reservoir in the center to receive water for the use of the garden, which flows from a handsome marble fountain where the Hasnadars frequently perform their ablutions before prayer. There are also around this gallery and the

one above several very good rooms and likewise the Dey's hot bath which he uses every Friday, and the Hasnadars and chief cooks through the week. The slaves are also permitted to bathe there on days when it is not used by their masters. This Bagnio is not as large as some in the city, but as they are all built alike a description of this will suffice for the whole.

The entrance to this Bagnio is through a small room which leads into another still smaller, where is a divan and couch made up of fine blankets, where the person who is going to bathe undresses himself, then proceeds into a small room which partakes in a great degree of the heat of the bath, as it as well as the bath are built over the oven before mentioned. There the party attended by three Mosabies, who are brought up to this business from their youth, stand a short time in order to be a little seasoned and prepared for the intense heat of the bath; for if a person, especially one who is not accustomed to bathing, should go into the bath without this precaution, it would nearly suffocate him. After a sufficient degree of perspiration is excited, the person, swaddled in cotton towels made for the purpose and mounted on high wooden clogs, enters the Bagnio and seats himself on a long pine table about a foot from the ground. Here the bathers commence the operation of kneading the flesh of their patients, cracking at the same time every joint, and then with hair cloth mittens lather them all over with soap suds, and when they suppose the pores sufficiently cleansed they commence throwing water

over the body, which they draw from two brass cocks fixed in copper boilers, one holding hot water and the other cold, and when thoroughly cleansed, the person being previously shaved, is covered with clean, dry towels, and led into the next apartment where he stands a short time as on entrance, and then goes into the room where the couch is—prepared by the Dey's Christian attendants—and dry clothes being put on him he is covered up, and reposes for an half hour, and sometimes more, taking coffee and those who smoke regale themselves with a pipe. They then are dressed, by their attendants, in clean clothes from head to foot, and put on their Al Burnase or cloak, putting the hood over their head and leave the Bagnio, not uncovering themselves before the perspiration gradually subsides, and in this manner all ranks of society bathe, with more or less grandeur at the public bath. A soldier may bathe for three cents, but few give less than nine. The Dey's bath is paved with marble, inlaid with painted tiles from Genoa, and is covered with a dome which has small windows and holes to let in light and air. All the Bagnios in this Regency, and indeed in all Barbary, are built on the same principle and more or less ornamented. Those in the Dey's and Grandee's ladies houses, I am told, are magnificent, and their manner of bathing corresponds with the description given by Lady Mary Wortley Montague in her description of the manners of the Turks.

The garden is of small extent, and contains nothing but oranges, lemons, and pomegranates, and

is covered with grape vines in many places. It is surrounded by walls, and has places for keeping lions, tigers and antelopes which, when young are permitted to remain here, but not when large enough to be very dangerous, when they are sent out to the dens in the Bagnio Galera. The stores, around the garden, contain various articles of clothing for the slaves and new recruits, firearms and a room filled with lion and tiger skins. There is likewise an old house, in a ruinous condition, filled with small baskets for pigeons to brood in, and like the cats, are said to proceed from a single pair, and are so very numerous that it is incredible to believe it; but it is nevertheless true that twice a day, before the Dey's throne, is scattered a bag of grain, wheat or barley, which holds two bushels, and in ten minutes the pigeons descend in such flocks that there is not a grain left. I am persuaded, however, that all those pigeons were not bred in the Dey's palace; but, as the grain is always thrown down at the same hour, there assemble all the pigeons to partake of this repast. The appearance of this part of the palace indicates that a number of old houses have been joined to the mass since the principal building was appropriated to its present use, some of which have been torn down, others altered and some still remain in their original state, mouldering to ruins, so that an exact description is impossible. To return to the upper gallery, on the staircase ascending to the Dey's apartments, on the right hand is the First Hasnadar's apartment, which is a handsome square room, well lighted, ornamented with carved work of flowers, etc.,

furnished with handsome carpets, a divan, some boxes, and small tables, inlaid with Mother of Pearl, Tortoise shell, etc., and hung around with firearms, swords, and pistols, mounted in gold and silver, inlaid mostly with Coral. Next you ascend to the Dey's apartments, which formerly consisted of one room in which, like the Hasnadar, the Dey ate and drank and slept, and had nothing in it different from the Hasnadars, except that the arms, clocks and other ornaments, were more costly. Before the door of this apartment, the Dey has a seat where he gives an audience at particular times to Ambassadors, Consuls, and others; but only to those with whom he is on good terms. Behind this seat and opposite this apartment are the rooms appropriated for the use of the slaves, and other conveniences of the Dey's person, the whole of which is handsomely paved with tiles and marble.

Thus have I described the whole of the Dey's palace in the reign of Mahomed Bashaw, but Hassan Bashaw has added a beautiful suite of rooms—indeed a whole house—to the old palace; which, as this description will likewise serve for all the best houses in Algiers, I will be the more particular.

Hassan Bashaw has been at great expense upon this building, which joins the last described apartment, and is the highest part of the palace. It is built of stone and brick cemented with mortar, as most of the other houses are, plastered over and whitewashed, so that on the outside you see nothing but bare walls and some holes, in the shape of a Gothic door, for windows, which are placed very

high from the ground, and when any aperture is made large enough for a person to go in or out, it is secured with a strong iron grating. Its shape is a square, around which the apartments are built, the lower part of this building seems to be of little use, and only intended to support an elegant suite of rooms, upon the attic, which is upon a level with the Dey's apartments already described. The Court yard and piazza are paved with marble as well as all the rooms. The terrace of the piazza, which runs all around, is supported with marble pillars resembling the Corinthian order, but not regular. The doors and window shutters, which are towards the gallery, are made in the Gothic style, carved and painted, and the borders and mouldings are gilt with the gold of Venitian sequins. The ceilings are ornamented with carved work, representing flowers, bunches of grapes, fruits of different sorts, in the Turkish style, the workmen being Greeks, who were sent to the Dey from Constantinople for the express purpose of ornamenting these rooms. The walls are, for about half way up, encrusted with painted tiles of Genoa, and high up, near the ceiling, are several holes resembling pigeon holes, which are closed with stucco work, resembling bunches of flowers, covered on the reverse with pieces of different colored glass, according to the color of the flowers which are intended to be represented, which has a pretty effect when reflected upon by the rays of the sun. The furniture consists of beautiful divans covered with handsome Turkey carpets as are the floors, beautiful boxes, inlaid with Mother of Pearl, Tortoise and

Coral, some chests of drawers fitted with watches, rings, snuff boxes, and other trinkets, enriched with diamonds and other precious stones, on which were placed some elegant table clocks and other ornaments. Around the rooms were hung elegant Turkish muskets, sabres, attagans, and other implements of war, ornamented in gold and Coral, besides several pairs of pistols, enriched with diamonds and some beautiful muskets and fowling pieces, which the Deys have received as presents from the different Christian nations with whom they were at peace. Among the latter is a beautiful double barreled fowling piece which formerly belonged to the unfortunate Louis the XVI, which was presented to Hassan Bashaw by my worthy friend Joel Barlow, Esq., as a part of the presents made by the United States a few months after our peace took place. In this house is likewise deposited all his cash which amounted, in my time, to 200,000 sequins, equal to $360,000; but when this Regency makes arrangements with Christian powers, and the sum is specified to be paid in sequins, and the payment is made in dollars, they frequently insist on valuing the sequin at two Spanish dollars each.

Having described the palace, as well as it is possible to describe such a confused mass of buildings, I will next proceed to describe the Mosques, Fonduces or Caravanseras, and other public buildings, especially the Casarias or Turkish Soldiers Barracks. Nearly opposite to the palace is the Dey's Mosque, where he, with all the Grandees, perform their devotions every Friday. It is a small neat building

consisting of one large room covered with mats and some small carpets—made purposely for Mussulmen to pray on—and has no ornaments except some sentences from the Koran, written in large Arabic characters upon the wall, likewise it has a place like a reading desk, from which the Koran is read and also a small place resembling a pulpit from which, on particular days, a discourse is delivered not unlike our sermons. There is no fountain in this Mosque, consequently the Dey and Grandees go there already purified. The great Mosque has a large fountain for purification; but, in other respects, is the same as the one described only much larger, and the Minaret much higher, which, during the time of Ramadan, as well as all the other Minarets, is illuminated, which makes a handsome appearance at a distance. There are several inscriptions on this Mosque, but none of them are legible to the naked eye, nor could I find anyone who knew of their origin. It is well known that all Mussulmen take off their shoes or sandals when they go to worship. At this Mosque they leave them outside the doors, and frequently the slaves, either pressed by necessity or motives of villainy, steal thirty or forty pairs of shoes at a time, and get off with them leaving the true believers to go home barefoot. This Mosque has the privilege to hoist the flag first to summon to prayer, and is followed by all the rest which, in every respect, are similar to those already described.

The Public schools are four in number, and are square buildings with small rooms all around. The scholars study reading, writing, and the common

rules of arithmetic, in the area in the open air. They are generally taught by the Imans of the Mosque, who receive a small compensation, annually, from the government, besides presents occasionally from the parents and friends of their scholars, most of whom are Arabs or the children of people who live at a distance from the city. Their books consist of the Koran and commentations on the Koran, and they learn to write with pens made of reeds on square boards, which are whitewashed and when full the writing is washed out, and the scholar commences his lessons again, which is a very economical way as no paper whatever is used, and notwithstanding it seems impossible to us that they should ever write a fair hand in this manner, it is really astonishing to what perfection they write the several Arabic characters, and I have seen copies of the Koran that would grace any library in the world in point of execution. The rooms, which are for the scholars to sleep in, are furnished with a few mats, and the provisions, which are provided by the institution, are of the coarsest kind; so was it not for the charity of the well disposed and some trifling support from their own friends, the scholars would lead a very poor life; as it is, they are very abstemious, I am persuaded, more through necessity than voluntary penance. There are some day schools, as with us, but the better sort have their children taught in their own houses by their religious men, in the same manner as in their schools, and among those, who have any education at all, there is a greater equality than in any other part of the world, the whole of the

abilities of the most learned men among them, only extending to reading, writing, the common rules of arithmetic, and the expounding of different sentences of the Koran, and explaining the different comments on it, and the rest of their religious authors.

In all this Regency was not a man, in my time, who could calculate an eclipse of the sun or moon. Their navigators merely knew how to take the sun's meridian, altitude, to work the latitude, and to prick off the ship's course on a plain chart. The master shipmaster who had been a slave in Spain for several years, and was considered the best scholar in the Regency, could not work the longitude by Lunar observations, nor work a plain question in astronomy, either by logarithms or by drawing the figure, though that was the chief branch of this study; but he had a very plausible tongue, a good memory, and knew how to convert the abilities of the Christian masters and mates and super cargoes, that were under him, to his own advantage. How many men do we see in our own country who by impudence, false pretenses, and picking up in formation from others, and carrying it to those in power, are preferred to the modest or timid man of honor, judgment and integrity? But it has ever been so in society and those, who suppose there is more virtue or candor in our country than any other, let them read the public prints and convince themselves to the contrary. I thought so once myself, but I had been studying the virtues of the ancient Romans. Happy would it have been for me had I been earlier undeceived.

There are six Casarias or Turkish barracks, which are handsome buildings with a large Court yard in the center, with a gallery and rooms all around, and are kept remarkably clean. They are each of them patronized by some of the great men, who are very liberal to the Turks, who reside there, especially to recruits when they first arrive from the Levant. Each Casaria is governed by an Odabashi, and several officers under him, and has one or more Chaoux to execute their orders, and likewise an Iman to say prayers at a stated time. The Turks who reside here are all single men, and the gates are shut at sunset, the keys taken to the Dey's palace at the same time that the keys of the gates of the city are deposited there, and are opened at the same time in the morning. This is done to prevent riot and insurrection, to which they were always prone, from taking place in the night. Before the plague made its appearance in 1786, these barracks were much crowded; but numbers were cut off by that terrible distemper, which made room for the better accommodation of those who remained.

There are fauducs where some of the married and superanuated Turks, who are poor, reside; but they commonly reside in their own houses and are considered as civilians, when not on actual duty, and are under the same regulations. Each Casaria is allowed one, and sometimes two, Christian slaves to keep them clean; that is to sweep and wash the gallery and Court yard, and sundry other services. There are several taverns in the city besides those in the prisons, and formerly there was a tavern kept in

each Casaria; but latterly, these have been prohibited in consequence of the great irregularity they were productive of, and a Christian having been found hung to the beams in the Casaria at the gate of the Marine, it was immediately shut up and no liquor has been allowed to be sold in any of the Casarias since. Those in the city, still open, are the Raphagi, which belongs to the Dey's chief clerk, and the Foundaria, which belonged to the Greek Master Builder Demetrius. These two pay no duty to the Regency, and are allowed as a perquisite of office to those who fill these places, and are very productive, especially, when prizes are taken which are loaded with wine and brandy, which makes the grapes to be sold very cheap. In the Magazine is the very cask which, in consequence of a miracle performed by a Maraboot in 1541, ran with wine until the streets were overflowed down to the Fisher's gate, and tinged the sea to a considerable distance from the shore, during the tempest which destroyed a great part of the Emperor Charles V. fleet; and this tradition is so well believed by the Mahomedans in general, that it is slung up and a lamp constantly kept burning before it, and frequently those who go there to intoxicate themselves, light a number of candles and adorn the old cask with flowers, with as much devotion as a bigoted Portuguese would the image of St. Antonio. The Christian tavern keeper of course gives in to the idea, apparently, and indeed so he ought, as he is the only person who benefits by it, as this old cask brings a great deal of custom to his tavern, which otherwise would go elsewhere,

as the Magazine itself is a miserable dark hole, not near so comodious as many of the other taverns. There are several other taverns in town, none of which are worth describing; the whole number, both in and out of the prisons, fluctuate from twenty-seven to thirty, all kept by Christian slaves who pay a considerable duty to the Regency, employ from fifty to ninety slaves, and maintain more than double the number of the most indigent, who without those resceptacles of vice and immortality, would in all probability starve for want of food, as is would be impossible for them to live long upon the allowance which they receive from the Regency. Thus has Divine Providence, who is forever working for the benefit of us unworthy creatures, devised the means of bringing some good out of much evil and even here has not abandoned us to entire want.

There is little more worthy of notice in this city. The streets are dark and narrow, especially the Jews' quarters, in one of which is their slaughter house, which creates an intolerable stench, which we would suppose would create a plague of itself—the contrary is the case, for in that quarter fewer Jews died of the plague than in any other and it was one of the last places where the infection spread.

I will next give a description of the Roman Catholic institutions established by the Spaniards, and the Ospicio by the French, which are both charitable institutions and of great service to the slaves in general. The hospital is a large convenient building adjoining the Bagnio Galera, which is shut every night at the same time that the prison is, but

has a communication by a small door where, in the time of the plague, those who were taken ill in the night were passed through, and several, in less than twelve hours, were carried to their graves. The common sewers of the hospital communicate with those of the prison, and was probably the reason why the mortality was greater there than in any of the other prisons, or any other part of the city. The slaves of all denominations—Protestants and Greeks, as well as Roman Catholics—are admitted into this hospital and are treated all alike, without any distinction, much to the credit of the priests, surgeon, and apothecary, who have the direction and management of its affairs; and, although few luxuries are allowed, the diet is good and wholesome, and the medical assistance as good as can be expected in such an institution. The most of the sick are contained in a large ward, and are accommodated with wool mattresses, sheets and pillows, and if the weather is cold, with a blanket if they have none of their own, and are not prevented from using their own beds if they have any. Those beds are placed on boards raised about thirty inches from the ground on iron stands, which are placed and replaced at pleasure, according to the number of patients. In the center is an altar where mass is said daily, and in the evening rosary is likewise said or sung, at which one of the priests always assists. There are also several small rooms where two or three patients are accommodated in each, and are generally slaves who attend on the Dey or some of the Grandees, and are allowed this favor on account of their masters. The priests'

apartments are separate, and at a distance from where the sick are deposited. They have very commodious apartments, a good church or chapel and a refectory, well stored. They are a good sort of people, and would be much better had they a better class of people to deal with. Once a week they distribute to the indigent slaves, one masoon each and sometimes oftener, when their funds will admit, which are generally augmented by donations from the Consuls, merchants, and sometimes by such of the slaves as are in the way of saving money, and are charitably inclined. The funds necessary for this very Christianlike and humane establishment, are furnished entirely by Spaniards, and is drawn from the Coffers of the order for the Redemption of Captives. This institution is governed by a Father administrator, and three or more priests, who correspond with the principal of their order in Spain, and are responsible for their conduct to their own order only. This is certainly one of the most charitable and laudable institutions in the world, and extends its benign influence to Christians of all nations. What would the slaves have suffered during the plague had they not had a place to receive them when oppressed with disease, and harrassed with fatigue and worn out with hard labor? For the credit of those good priests be it spoken. They permit those that are not really sick, but find means to get in there to rest a few days to recruit themselves, to remain there eight or ten days until they perfectly recover from their fatigue, and in a manner reanimated. What would the poor Americans have

done, who were struck with the plague and died during our captivity? They would have had no alternative, but would have died, either in the street at their labor, or in some corner in the prison, without any person to assist them or to console them in their last moments; and would have been buried in a hole like a dog. In the hospital they are at least (even the poorest sort) sewed up in a blanket, and carried on a bier covered over with a pall, such as it may be, and can be accompanied by any of their friends or countrymen to the place of their interment; and those, who have friends to provide coffins, may be decently interred. Not one of the American captives that died was buried without a coffin, many of them I had made at my own expense. The Regency are at no expense whatever on account of this establishment, but tolerate it on account of the great use it is to them, as it saves a great number of the slaves' lives annually. They allow, when slaves are plenty, twelve slaves to attend the sick and to do the necessary work of the hospital gratis; but when slaves are scarce, not above half that number. The Osficio is a Convent dependent on the Order of Mercy in France, and is governed by a Vicar and three or four priests of that order. Their duty consists in saying mass and preaching to the slaves in the prisons, giving them spiritual advice, and administering the sacrament. They likewise attend the Roman Catholic houses which have chapels, and occasionally give charity to the slaves when their funds will permit. It is likewise a part of their duty to attend the slaves in the time of invasion, when

they are sent, chained two and two together, into the country; and Father Joseph, who had been a resident there for near thirty years, had twice accompanied them to Media, the first time when the Spaniards invaded Algiers in 1775, and the last time, in 1784, when Don Antonia Barcelo threatened with bombardment, which in reality was never intended. This holy man never abandoned them in these times, he hired mules to accommodate those who were sick and even dismounted and walked nearly all the way, giving his mule to such of the slaves whose feet were lacerated with the stones and heat, and reduced himself to the same situation that they were in, the chains excepted, in order to alleviate their sufferings. His last dollar he gave away to the cruel Guardians to induce them to use the slaves with lenity; nay, even his clothes he divided among them, and when he returned to Algiers, he was in as bad a condition as any of them. During the plague he constantly attended on the slaves in the prison and hospital, until he was infected himself, and although he had that distemper very severely, and was a long time before he was cured of his sores, he continually attended to his duty the moment he was able to rise from his bed. Ultimately it pleased God that he should recover, that he might continue his benevolence to those poor, abandoned, and dejected creatures, for he praised the God of mercy and goodness, and dedicated the rest of his life to their services and several times refused to return to his own country when solicited by the superiors of his order, and where he had friends to procure him

preferment and property to maintain him decently; but he sacrificed everything to the duties of his profession and had determined to continue the rest of his life in Algiers. If I could obtain or was worthy of obtaining an especial grace from the Almighty God, I would pray to be enabled to be as good a man as Father Joseph; for I can scarcely believe there ever was a better.

This institution is of no other use to the slaves. The priests inhabit a convenient house, have a decent church within its walls, which, before the French Revolution, was well endowed, and generally their refectory was well supplied. Of late years the priests are seldom insulted in the streets, and when they are, it is mostly by the lower class, and if they can identify the person who insults them, and lodge a regular complaint, either personally or through medium of their Consuls, to the Dey, they are sure to receive proper satisfaction; and the person who insults them will be severely punished, if they require it, which they seldom have done for fear of consequences; as it would be by no means prudent to irritate an ignorant mob, who are already too much prejudiced against them and their religion.

CHAPTER VII.

CONTINUATION OF MY SITUATION.

I have already stated that when I was sent from the palace garden, my whole wardrobe was contained in a small basket, and in cash my funds did not amount to quite eight dollars, two of which I was obliged to pay to the Corporals to make interest to procure me leave to go to the Bagnio Gallera, where the rest of the American prisoners were, and as many as it could hold, of the most respectable prisoners. I therefore, and my companions in adversity, took leave of Bagnio Belique for the present. A large ring of iron, which was put on my leg there, I got changed for a small one, and my next occupation was to look out for quarters. Some of the Americans were fortunate enough to have a small room to themselves, but this was so crowded that it was impossible to hold any more inhabitants, and most of them slept on tables in the taverns. We arrived so late that all the births in the tavern where we put up were taken, and I was obliged to spread my blanket on the interstice of the bilge of a large wine cask and the wall, with my basket containing all my worldly possessions under my head, to serve for a pillow and prevent the contents from

being stolen. The weather being very sultry, the stench of the prison, the quantity of rats which were continually running over us, joined to myriads of fleas which attacked on all sides, did not render the night's lodging very agreeable, and I was glad when I was summoned to work in the morning.

From this to the month of March 1787, I continued in nearly the same situation, working in the carpenter shop in the day time, occasionally sent to carry heavy loads to disarm the Cruisers, load vessels with wheat, carry ballast on board the Cruisers, and on Friday, either be sent to Bebal Wed to work at the Magazine, or to the Ponto Piscado to load the Pontoon with heavy stone to throw at the back of the mole, to prevent the sea from breaking over it. In short every other sort of labor, which the most common slave in the Regency was obliged to do; but this was not all, the Guardians or slave drivers supposing we had money, would send us to the worst work, abuse us in the worst manner, using the most opprobrious language, and often giving us cuts with their twisted rattans, "en passant," in order to oblige us to purchase our peace with them, which generally could be done for thirty or forty cents; but for those who had it not to give, it might as well have been a million. It might well be supposed that my treasury was soon exhausted, and that the clothes which I got in the palace, were disposed of to supply my most urgent wants. It is true, we were allowed seven and one-half cents a day for some time from our own country, but that allowance was soon withdrawn from us, and for years no more notice was

taken of us than if no such unfortunate men were in existence. It may therefore well be imagined that our situation could not well be worse, especially as the plague, which had been introduced from the Levant, began to make its appearance in the slave prisons. This, however, produced no mitigation of our labor—as long as we live we must work.

I continued in this miserable situation until the 17th of March, 1787, when the King of Naples redeemed all his subjects who were taken at sea, except those who were taken in the Galleys which fled from Naples. A Neapolitan Frigate arrived with the cash on board, and they were permitted to embark under a flag of truce. They were about three hundred in number, and many of them being employed in the most eligible situations, many vacancies remained to be filled by those unfortunate men who remained; among whom, my fellow prisoner and myself were taken from the carpenter's shop and ordered to attend on the Intendant or Vikilharche of the Marine. There are generally from six to nine Christians in this department, whose duty it is to attend to the Vikilharche at meals, to take care of the stores, carry the keys for the Belique Bashaw, serve the oil and bread out to the slaves, and in general, whatever the Intendant and Belique Bashaw order them to do; but they are not subject to the Guardians nor to the orders of any one else. They are well fed and receive some emolument from the Intendant's visitors, especially the Beys, Caliphs, Alcaides, Ambassadors, and Christian Consuls, who are expected to put some money into the cup every

time they take coffee with him; and this money is divided among these Christians every Thursday night—and they always have Friday to themselves. This was no small alleviation from our sufferings, especially as we were nearly naked; and now we received two pieces of cotton sufficient to make two jackets and two pair of trousers, and money to pay for making them. Although you are subject to hard labor, sometimes, in clearing out the stores, it is nevertheless considered one of the best situations, and a great deal of interest is made to get there.

Although peace with Spain took place in June, 1785, still the Spaniards remained in captivity. The plague had commenced, and in January there died sixteen Christian slaves, and in February forty one, and in March the number was increasing, when the Neapolitans were redeemed. The Spanish priests now thought seriously of their captives, as they became very refractory and blamed the priests for their being detained so long in captivity after peace had taken place, and even threatened their lives. They, therefore, with the assistance of the Spanish Ambassador, became security to the Dey for the ransom of all the Spaniards who were taken at sea, to the number of about four hundred, and on the 19th of March they were embarked on board a large Russian prize vessel, which was purchased for that purpose, and soon sailed for Minorca to perform quarantine. The slaves who had deserted from Oran, who were about one thousand of all nations, had always expected to have been included in the general redemption. Some of these unfortunate men had been in

captivity for fifty years, and certainly had suffered sufficiently to have expiated any crimes which they might have committed in their youth, and finding this not so, all their hopes vanished and they gave themselves up to dispair, threatened the priests and Ambassadors and all the free subjects of Spain with death, as being the cause of their not being included in the redemption; and were with difficulty appeased by the priests promising, in the most solemn manner, to write to the King of Spain in their behalf, and to the heads of their order to use their influence in their favor. This quieted them for the present; nevertheless their dissatisfaction frequently led them to acts of violence and riot, and often the priests were in danger of their lives; which, considering the class of people they had to do with, is not to be wondered at, especially as the priests did not fulfill their promises; for twelve years after I wrote this, in 1799, when I touched at Algiers, some of those poor creatures were still in captivity. The greatest number had died of the plague, some had been redeemed, and the remainder were ransomed sometime afterwards. When the Spaniards who had been redeemed embarked, the scene was truly affecting; they separated from their countrymen, who were left behind, with embraces and tears for their speedy liberation; they divided their clothes and money with them; some even gave away their all; and probably never was generosity more conspicuous or carried to a greater length. When the ship sailed she was followed by the eyes of those poor captives, and when she disappeared in the horizon, a universal groan was

heard from those unfortunate men; and they sunk into despondency, declaring that now their last hope of ever being redeemed had vanished, and they cared not how soon they were struck with the plague and terminated their existence. The plague still increased, notwithstanding more than seven hundred captives were redeemed, which lessened the number considerably. Forty-three died this month and one hundred and five in April; nevertheless, the usual work was carried on and the labor being increased, no doubt exposed the poor slaves to the miasma of the infection more than otherwise they would have been, of which I will take particular notice when I come to treat of that dreadful disease.

By the redemption of the Spaniards, the places of the coffeegie and clerk of the Marine department became vacant. Giovanni de la Cruz, a native of Leghorn, who had been chief mate of a large Leghornese ship, which I had left at Boston, and who was captured last year, and with whom I was acquainted, was appointed to the latter situation and I was appointed to the former. His duty was to keep the books, and mine to make coffee and hand it to the Intendant and his visitors; I likewise had the superintendency of the other slaves and was accountable for their good behavior and was obliged to report them if they behaved improperly.

The clerk of the Marine is allowed a small room in the Bagnio Galera, gratis. I took up my quarters with him, and with the exception of people dying with the plague all around us, our situation was very tolerable. We were obliged to be in the prison at

the same hours as the other slaves were, and to go to the Marine as soon as the gate was opened, in order to have the Intendant's seat made and coffee ready for him on his arrival. On Fridays, as we were confidential slaves, we could generally get leave to go out of town as far as the Consul's country seats. In May, one hundred and fourteen Christian slaves died, and in June, one hundred and fifty-five died, among whom was my friend Giovanni de la Cruz. He lingered a few days, and on the 11th of June departed this life, regretted by all who knew him. He was a most amiable young man. During his illness I rendered him all the service in my power but to no effect. When he was struck with the plague, I was ordered to take charge of the books of the Marine department until he died or recovered, and on the 12th I was appointed clerk of the Marine. Here I remained until all the people of the Magazine, the Vikilharche of the Marine excepted, had died and been replaced three different times. My former ship mate, of whom I will have occasion to mention hereafter, had been sent out of the Magazine soon after he was taken into it for incapacity, as he was a very simple ignorant lad, and could not learn the duty exacted from him. The Belique Bashaw died; another was appointed, he died also; and a Turk, a fisherman in the Turkish language (Baluckgee), was appointed in his stead. This man had never been in any office before, and was in rank only a common soldier. He was extremely ignorant, poor, and proud, and very morose in his manners, finding fault without reason and not over honest. Several things

were missing from the stores, but no person dare accuse him of purloining them; besides they wanted proof. My situation was then rendered very unpleasant. I remained, however, at my post until April, 1788, when one Thursday, having made out a (Tischera) or account of the money to be delivered to the treasury that day by the Belique Bashaw, it amounted to a considerable sum more than he had in his possession. He first tried to pursuade me that I had made some mistake, and requested me to alter it without making any noise. This I positively refused to do and read to him all the items of the money he had received, and what he had paid away. He then endeavored to throw the blame on the Christian slaves, saying that they must have taken the money out of his drawer, although he had always kept the key himself. This produced altercation, when he complained to the Vikilharche, saying that I had accused him of embezzlement and that either he or I must leave the Marine. The Vikilharche endeavored to pacify him, but without effect; and the policy of these people being never to take part with a Christian against one of themselves, especially if he is a Turk or a soldier, accasioned him to order me to leave the Marine and remain in my tavern, declaring that he never would appoint another clerk in my place. This promise he kept, and the duties of my place were done by the Turkish clerk, until the Belique Bashaw was removed, which happened shortly after; and frequently I have met him with his cane and basket coming, after this time, from fishing. I remained in the tavern some time when, in conse-

quence of the great mortality among the slaves, I was appointed clerk of the Bagnio Galera, three clerks having died in less than one month. The duty of this station was to muster the slaves in the prison every evening, to report when any died or were taken sick, to see their black bread served out to them, and to go to the Marine every morning, and on Friday, to the out works to muster the slaves, to call their names over, and to report them when anywhere missing; but as several of the clerks of the sheep skins and charcoal died with the plague, I was frequently obliged to do this duty, which kept me constantly employed, and probably was conducive to my health and may have been the means, under Divine Providence, of my being alive at the present moment.

CHAPTER VIII.

This morning at 5 A. M., May 17, 1788, the Piratical flag was displayed on the Marine fortifications. The Christian vessels then in Port paid the usual compliments on such occasions by hoisting their colors. The whole Divan of Algiers, the Dey excepted, went out to receive the Bey or Sheik of Constantine, and to accompany him to the Dey's palace, as he had pitched his tents in the rebata or plain the night before. These plains are distant four miles from the Gate of Bebazon. The Laga or commander-in-chief of all the forces of Algiers, and superintendent of everything that is transacted within the Regency of Algiers, this city excepted, went out the evening before in order to confer with him on the state of the Dey's cabinet and other important affairs. At 6 A. M. the Bey was met by the Divan, all mounted on fine Arabian coursers, richly caparisoned, and after the usual ceremonies were paid, they proceeded towards the city in the following order: First, the order of Ipahias with the Bey's guards, about thirty in number; second, fifty mules loaded with money, each mule carrying two thousand pataca gordas, and forty-five Barbarian horses; this is what is customary to pay the Regency every three years, besides his Caliph is obliged to bring the half

of that sum every six months; next follows six mules loaded with gold to be distributed to the Dey and Divan as presents, and amounted to 24,000 sequins —this was sent to the Dey's house. Next follows *Hassan Bashaw, the late Bey of Constantine's son, with seven mule loads of money, each mule carrying 2,000 potaca gordas, this is a present to the Regency, Hassan Bashaw being under no obligation to bring this money, has done it more out of policy to influence the Dey in his favor, than any particular regard he has for his person or the welfare of the Regency. Next followed several horses richly caparisoned, designed for presents to the great men, attended by many of the Bey's guards and Ipahias. The next that presented itself to our view was seven stand of colors, carried by seven Ianyiacgies on horseback, a band of Moorish music, three holy fools or Maraboots, proclaiming the Bey's arrival, and then the Dey's Hampa or body guards ridiculously dressed in brass caps and feathers, to make them appear more foolish; then followed the Bey, riding on the Hasnagi's left side, behind them the Laga and Hodge of Carallos or clerk of the cattle belonging to the Regency, which is a birth of the greatest consequence, and the fourth of the Divan; behind them came the Vikilhadge or Intendant of the Marine, followed by a number of others of inferior rank.

*Note—The above mentioned Hassan Bashaw is married to Hadgi Mansour's daughter, which, joined to the lands he has or governs, makes him a person of the greatest consequence. The land that he enjoys is allotted to him by the Regency of Algiers as his father was a fortunate Bey, which very seldom happens.

At 7 A. M., entered the Gate of Bebazon and were saluted by all the Marine fortifications, and likewise by all the batteries which they passed before they entered the city. On the Bey's arrival at the palace, he was disarmed for fear of his proving disaffected and try to assassinate the Dey. Then he and the Hasnagi rode into the palace yard, and alighted in the presence of the Dey; the other great men alighted outside of the palace gate. On his paying his respects to the Dey, he kisses his hand, sits down opposite him, discourses about an hour, drinks a dish of coffee, and fills the cup with manboobs. This is the perquisite of the Christian slaves in the palace, who seldom fail to bring the largest cup they can get, in order for the Bey to fill it. He then kisses the Belique or Dey's hand, and is attended by the Mezour and Alcaide in ta Zubil and several others, and conducted to his own palace. The Divan then sits, and if his conduct is approved, the caftan is sent to him by the Dey's first Christian servant that attends his own person, if not it is not sent, and the next time he comes out of his own house, to go to the Dey's palace, he is seized and led to the Aga d' Bastom's prison and choked immediately, without a trial, as delays may prove dangerous. If the Bey's conduct is approved, the caftan or robe of honor is sent to him, and now he is convinced that his conduct is approved of by the Dey and Divan, and that he has nothing to fear from that quarter. During the Bey's stay here, which is eight days, he generally visits the Dey twice a day—Tuesdays and Fridays excepted. With the Bey came seventeen Christian

slaves, his attendants, most part Genoese and Neapolitan—likewise a free surgeon. He is a young man, his name is Jean Gai. He is a relative of Mons. Gimon, French negotiator here; has been with the Bey nine years, where he makes a considerable sum annually, and is a great favorite of the Bey's. The Bey has brought with him eleven desperados that have renegaded their faith, as they despaired of ever being redeemed, they being deserters from a Spanish garrison on this coast, eighty leagues to the west of Algiers. The Bey of Constantine is the richest of the three Beys, and has an unbounded prerogative. He keeps the Tunisians under great subjection, and often collects taxes in their territories and demands large sums of money from them under pretense of using it for the good of the commonweal; but in reality is used to his own emolument. The Tunisians are obliged to put up with this unjust treatment, as they are too well acquainted with their own inferiority and weakness to offer to oppose him. When the Bey is in his own Province, he resides in a city of the same name where he lives in great splendor. Eight days is the limited time for his stay here. If he stays any longer, he incurs the Dey's displeasure. When he leaves Algiers, he returns to the Eastern Province pretty well stripped of his ill acquired wealth. He commences very soon to plunder the unfortunate and wretched Arabs, and by that means as soon as possible make up his losses sustained during his short stay at Algiers, at the cost of those miserable wretches whom Almighty Providence has pleased to place under his jurisdiction and govern-

ment. The Bey, on his arrival at Algiers, was accompanied by Mansour Sheriffe, Sheik and Grand Maraboot or Governor, both spiritual and corporeal, of a very numerous tribe of Arabs, situated near the Province of Constantine, named Mahomed Felicie, and other tribes, as far as Demir Capi or the Iron Gate, own him for their law giver; so that he is a very powerful, rich Moor.

Demir Capi is a very narrow passage in the mountains of Atlas, defended by and in possession of the Mountain Arabs, and is the only part that this mountain is penetrable for many days' journey, so that in case of a misunderstanding between the Maraboot and the Bey of Constantine, or the Regency of Algiers, he has it in his power to influence the Mountain Arabs in prejudice of said Regency, and possibly involve them in a disagreeable contest, which could not be remedied by any other means than the force of arms, which would be the means of taking much blood on both sides; and would hinder the Turks from reaping any benefit from him or his vast territories; and so much is this great Maraboot respected, in his own dominions, that he may be with propriety styled the Arabian Pope, as no person dare disobey him under pain of everlasting punishment. For these and other political reasons the Dey and Divan thought proper to treat Hadgi Mansoure with the same respect as they did the Bey, and if possible to give him no just cause of complaint.

May 24, 1788—This day the Grand Maraboot, Hassan Bashaw, the Bey of Constantine, Prime Min-

ister, and other officers of the state, being in presence of the Dey, asked the Bey of Constantine for a certain sum of money, sent as a compliment to him by the Bey of Tunis, and left in his hands by Hadgi Mansour, as the Bey of Tunis gave it to said Maraboot on his passing through Tunis on his return from Mecca. That the letters from the Bey had arrived some time but that he had heard nothing of the money; so he had supposed that the Bey of Constantine had taken care of it until he came to Algiers himself, and that now was the proper time to deliver it. The Bey of Constantine seemed quite surprised and solemnly declared that he had no money nor any thing else from Hadgi Mansour when he returned from the Holy Temple of Mecca, nor even a letter from the Bey of Tunis. Hadgi Mansour was called and examined whether he had received the above mentioned money. He frankly owned he had, but that, through the multiplicity of business, he had to transact on his return from Mecca, that he had entirely forgotten the sum that he had brought for the Bey, and if they had not put him in mind of it, probably, said he, I might never have remembered it. He then hoped the Dey and Bey of Constantine might excuse him for his mistake was made through negligence, and not through any dishonest intentions to embezzle another man's property. This was doubted by the Dey, and the Bey of Constantine having long been jealous of young Hassan on account of the peculiar respect shown him by the Divan of Algiers, and likewise the soldiery of his own province, thought this a favorable opportunity to

lodge complaints against the Maraboot, and more especially against Hassan Bashaw, saying that he had assumed a greater prerogative than his birth entitled him to, and for that reason, as he was Bey or Governor of Constantine, he could by no means allow Hassan Bashaw to have the superiority over him in governing his own Province, and thought that Hassan had acted very impudently in making himself busy in affairs so important as the government of Constantine; and no doubt the Regency of Algiers, or at least the Hasnagi, had a greater regard for Hassan than he had for the Bey, and employed Hassan as a controller of the Bey's official duty, which made the Bey more desirious that he should be removed.

The Hasnagi espoused Hassan's cause and told the Bey in presence of the Dey of Algiers, that using Hassan in an ungenteel manner was the same as using him ill. Hassan alledged that he thought that his life was in danger, but hoped that the Hasnagi would give him some assurance of his protection. The Hasnagi assured him that he would take all possible means for preventing the said Bey from molesting him, or any of his connections or property. The Bey on his part was greatly surprised at Hassan finding such powerful protection, and contaminated the Prime Minister in the presence of the Dey. A warm debate ensued, which came to a great height. The Dey and remaining part of the Divan interfered to try to adjust matters as amicably as possible, and if possible to appease the rising storm. It is remarkable that the Dey sided rather

more with the Bey than he did with his Prime Minister. On the Bey's departure from Algiers he received great honors from the Dey, besides many valuable psesents, among which were two Christian slaves. Most of the great men, the Hasnagi excepted, made him a present of an unfortunate captive, besides other valuable effects. Thus assured of his conduct being approved, he returned to the government of his province, leaving Hassan in Algiers by the Hasnagi's order.

Hadgi Mansour, his father-in-law, returned to his mountain Arabs to forward the money presented by the Bey of Tunis to the Dey with all possible expedition. This present which was to be laid out by the Dey for the purpose of relieving the distressed and other charitable uses, is reported to amount to 40.000 manboobs. May 25, 1788, Hassan Bashaw presented the Hasnagi with a purse of 20.000 manboobs, which made the Hasnagi exert himself with the Dey and Divan, and in return made Hassan a present of a much grander Caftan than the Bey had received from the Dey, adding that he should soon have it in his power to befriend him effectually. Hassan immediately fell on his knees to embrace Hasnagi's feet, but was prevented by the Prime Minister, who embraced him with great tenderness and showed him every mark of respect and esteem.

Monday, May 26, 1788. This morning the Hasnagi, as is customary, came to the palace door and sat on the outside until the Porte was opened, between the hours of 4 and 5 a. m., accompanied by the Laga and Hodge of Caballos. The Bashaw, as

is customary, came to pay his respects and the Hasnagi offered him his hand to kiss, the Bashaw abruptly pushed his hand away, seized him and with the help of two more Chauses, disarmed him, stripped him of his Turban and Burnuse, and hurried him away to the Laga. The reason he was so used the Laga said he knew not; but that it was the Dey's orders and must be obeyed. As the Chaouxer dragged him under the Dey's window he called "Ally, Ally! What have I done? Is there no person who will plead my cause or interceed for me in this moment of impending danger? O! Ally, my wife, my children, don't let them suffer." The Laga assured him he would befriend him all that lay in his power while he lived.

This great unfortunate man, with haste, was conducted to the place of execution. The first cord that was used was by some means broken when he was about half dead, upon which another was brought which effectually finished this deed of atrocity. This ambitious man died pitied by all, but lamented by none but the Turks of his own party.

This once great and respected man was carried by four Pisqueras (inferior Moors) to his own new house, and laid out in the porch, and no person was let to visit him under pain of disobedience to the Dey's orders. His house then was shut up, and no person allowed to enter without the Dey's orders. The family of the deceased being at the garden and hearing of the unhappy event, made ready to come to town, but were prevented by the guards, who were sent from town to take care that none of the deceased's

property should be taken by any of his friends. About two hours afterwards, the wife of this unfortunate statesman went on the terrace of the house and would have thrown herself down, had she not been prevented by one of her attendants. She requested, in a very pathetic manner, to have one more view of her dead lord before his remains were interred. This request was granted, she immediately went to the house where her husband's corpse was laid; but alas! no entrance was for her; but she immediately was ordered from the door in a rough manner by the guard, which set the unhappy woman nearly distracted.

At 2 P. M. was carried the corpse of this once dreaded Minister, attended by not one Turk—as previous to his interment the Dey gave orders for not a Turk, under penalty of death, to attend his funeral. He was buried at Bebal Wed in his own burying ground, without the least ceremony, leaving his wife and children to bewail his untimely fate.

Hassan Bashaw having now lost his friend, he deemed it the most prudent step to take refuge in the Algerine Maraboot Sanctuary, until he saw how things turned out. The Dey immediately sent some of his officers to seize Hassan's house and property for the good of the Regency, and to place guards at the Maraboot Sanctuary in order to let no sort of provisions enter for his subsistence, and if possible, starve him out of his Holy Refuge. Bobba Osman, the late Hasnagi's brother, likewise absconded into some of his friends houses, in order to escape the impending danger. Hard was Hassan Bashaw's lot,

far distant from any of his friends or connections, as Hadgi Mansour had returned to his native soil among the numerous tribes of Arabs and Jebils. On the arrival of the Bey of Constantine in his own Province, the first step that the Bey took was to plunder Hassan's house; then seize all his property. This was the first that Hadgi Mansour had heard from his son-in-law since his departure from Algiers. He accordingly informed his vassals of all that had happened, and after mature deliberations, a resolution was taken to write to the Dey of Algiers, and in case young Hassan was not immediately restored to liberty, and his property returned, both in Algiers and Constantine, to declare perpetual war against the Dey, Divan and Turks in general of this Regency. Therefore Siddi Mansour made all the preparations for so great an undertaking. On the arrival of this letter a general Divan was called by the Dey, in order to take the purport of this letter into serious consideration, and after many debates it was unanimously resolved, that young Hassan should be released, his property restored to him with every loss made good, and orders should be sent previous to his leaving Algiers to the Bey of Constantine to return to him his property, and let him enjoy his prerogative as formally without the least molestation. This shows how requisite it is for the Dey and Divan of Algiers to pay proper attention to Hadgi Mansour, Sheik and Grand Maraboot of the mountain Arabs.

May 26, 1788. This day the Bay was opened in the palace for the Turkish soldiers Siddi Hassan,

Vikilhadge of the Marine, and son-in-law of the late Hasnagi was appointed in his father-in-law's room to officiate as Hasnagi. He accordingly exercised himself in the functions of his office, to the satisfaction of all, but those of the late Hasnagi's party, as by the precipitate death of this great man, all his designs were frustrated. Ciddi, the present Prime Minister and treasurer of the Regency, had been formerly Casnador or the Dey's confidential servant, since which period, he had been several years Vikilhadge of the Marine, wherein he has obtained many advantages for the Regency from different nations, especially the making so advantageous a peace with Spain, on the part of the Algerines, and so dishonorable to his Catholic Majesty. This affair was entirely owing to him, as some years ago he was sent to Constantinople, in the character of an Ambassador, in order to transact some affairs concerning the Regency with the Grand Vizir; but, on his return on board a French vessel loaded with ammunition and warlike stores, he was captured by a Frigate belonging to his Catholic Majesty, and carried into Carthagena, where he was detained sometime. The Algerines, on their part, insisted that the French must be answérable for Ciddi Hassan and all the warlike stores, as they were taken on board a French vessel. Therefore after many applications being made from the court of France, the Spaniards were induced to clear Siddi Hassan, and send both ships and cargo to Algiers, after making him several valuable presents and using him in the most gentle manner possible, and showing him every mark of distinction requisite to show a person of his rank.

CHAPTER IX.

The clerk of the Bagnio Gallera is allowed to keep a tavern in the prison, and only pays half duty to the Regency. This, with my having purchased the Mad House tavern, will account for my having money at my command, and when my fellow sufferers had none, and I believe those who survive will do me the justice to acknowledge, that they never wanted a good meal while I had it in my power to give it to them; that they were attended in the hospital when sick, and that those who died were buried in a decent coffin at my expense. Nay, never was any American buried without my attending them to the grave, reading prayers over them, and remaining until they were decently covered. This was particularly taken notice of by the Consuls and Catholic priests. The plague raged all this year; nevertheless I never enjoyed better health, and I frequently stopped at the gates of the city to count the dead as they were carried out, not knowing nor indeed caring when my time should come. In 1789 the plague subsided, although it never was thoroughly exterminated, as no pains were taken to erradicate it. In this year only nineteen Christians died of all disorders, and the same number the next year. In 1791 only fifteen Christians died, and in 1792 seventeen,

but in 1793 the plague broke out again and continued, with the intermission of the year 1795, when only thirty-one Christian slaves died, until 1796, but I am persuaded that the city and environs were never clear of the contagion, as it raged again and carried off several of our countrymen who were captives, of whom I will make mention when I come to treat of that terrible disorder. From 1788 to 1791, three years, I was employed as above stated, except about six months that I was in Dr. Werner's office to make out accounts. I ate at his table, but as I had money enough to serve all my wants, I was entirely independent of him until I closed all his accounts. He treated me tolerably well but having no further use for my services, he changed his mind and manner of treatment, making use of improper language, and pretending that I should not go out of his house without his leave, I therefore asked him to make out his account for my board, which he refused to do, and I retired to my room in the Bagnio Gallera, which I had rented to some of the captives during my absence. I was likewise one week at Mr. Logie's house, while he was out of town, this was occasioned by Capt. O'Brien, who had lived there for considerable time, being sent to the Marine to make sails for the Crusiers, and the Consul requested me to take care of his house until he could get him back again. Capt. O'Brien had been through his whole captivity in one Counsul's house or another, except called occasionally to make or mend old sails for the Algerine Crusiers, and once that he was sent to hard labor and put on board the Panton

Grand to cleanse the mold where he was kept some weeks during which time, however, I furnished him with a good dinner and a bottle of wine daily from my tavern, and as the guardian, Monto Negro, had no objection to a glass of wine himself, an extra one was sent to him by which Capt. O'Brien was treated very kindly, and only made to work under the eyes of the Vikilharche of the Marine, who was offended with him or rather was offended with the British Consul, and took this opportunity to revenge himself upon one of his dependents, as he could not upon the Consul himself. Little alteration took place in my situation until the arrival of the crews of the American vessels in October 1793. Sometimes I was employed as before mentioned and at other times I remained in my room at the Bagnio Gallera. I owned the Mad House tavern and half a tavern in the Bagnio Gallera, and another in Bagnio Liddi Hamuda, these were kept by Christian slaves, who paid me so much per pipe for wine and brandy. This gave me a profit sufficient for all my purposes, and an over-plus to serve the immediate wants of my unfortunate fellow sufferers taken in 1785, who had been a great part of the time without any assistance whatever from their country. Some of them had been at hard labor all the time, until their numbers were considerably reduced by the plague and hard usage, and at no time had they more than seven and a half cents allowed them per day to find them both food and raiment, and had it not pleased God to have placed me in a situation to have assisted them, they would certainly have been worse

off. Those who were in Dey's palace, likewise gave them temporary assistance according to their means. People in our situation are generally liberal to each other. One probable reason, which might prevent them from hoarding, was the consideration that the plague was carrying off great numbers; that the Regency took possession of all the property belonging to the deceased, even their tattered garments and blankets, if they had any, and as we did not know when it would be our turn to die, we set no great value upon money, and made a merit of assisting our unfortunate brother sufferers, who were not in as good a situation as ourselves. Had we not been afraid of dying, I think it is likely enough that we would have been less liberal or at least more careful.

It must not, however, be supposed that notwithstanding I was much better off than many of my fellow prisoners, that I was not exposed to many sentimental afflictions. The Turkish Guardians frequently levied contributions on me on various false pretenses. The Paga Lunas were sometimes called to perform extra work on Fridays, and on any emergency such as fittting out Crusiers, covering in the waterworks at Bebazoon, clearing the Marine and fortifications, when any hostile armament was reported to be destined against Algiers, clearing away the rubbish of old houses, which were thrown down to augment the Dey's palace, discharging stores from the vessels of tributary nations, loading Christian vessels with wheat and barley, and in general everything that was an extra addition to the

ordinary routine of duty from which the other slaves, whose numbers were greatly reduced by the redemption of the Neapolitan and Spanish slaves, and more by the dreadful plague, could not be spared, which occasioned frequently all the slaves, even those who were in the Consuls' houses, to be called to labor for a few days at a time. Many by bribing the guardians would get clear or not be forced to work hard; this would make the labor come harder on those who had nothing to give, and consequently create discontent, which was by no means to be wondered at; and would at times prevent the Guardians from showing lenity to any person whatever, for fear those who were not favored would complain to their superiors. In these several instances I suffered very much by accident. The first time I was standing by the Mad House tavern door, which belonged to me, when two Turks quarreled about a woman, one of the Turks was in the window of a house opposite, the other standing close by me, whose name was Hassan Chioux, said something which exasperated the one at the window to such a degree that he opened his door and shot Hassan through the thigh and with his attagan run him through the body without offering me the least injury. Hassan fell down dead into the tavern, and the pistol wounded another Turk in the foot, who was standing in the tavern. The murderer marched out of the gates and took refuge in the tent, which was pitched in the Rebat, as a sanctuary for all soldiers who had committed crimes, and would serve against the Arabs until pardoned. Hassan was

carried to his barracks, washed and interred. The tavern was shut up and all the Christians who were present, among whom I was one, were sent to the Marine to work, by order of Ciddi Aly, who was Vikilharche of the Marine and by no means my friend. I remained at hard labor two days and then made application to the Hasnagi or Prime Minister and Treasurer, who gave orders that the tavern should be restored to me, and the Christians who were my servants permitted to go there as usual, but more than a week elapsed before my servants were returned, and not before I made a present of ten sequins to Ibraim Raiz, Guardian Bashaw. Not long afterwards a Kuluglo named Cara Burmuz of so infamous a character that he was deemed even unworthy to be a Turkish soldier, and his pay was taken from him—was insolent to a Greek Renegade called Mahommed Grittiti in the Mad House tavern, who beat him unmercifully. The next day Cara Burmuz complained to the Scheran Bashaw or head surgeon, whose duty it is to take cognizance of such acts and make the delinquent pay for drawing blood; but knowing that he could not expect more than two or three sequins from a soldier, induced Cara Burmuz to swear that it was I that had beaten him. I accordingly was summoned before this despot, who after a long discourse in which he wished to impress upon my mind the greatness of the crime of which I had been guilty, in beating so unmercifully a true believer, said he was willing to compromise the matter with me, provided I would pay him two hundred sequins as the price of blood, and if not I

must go to prison. Mahommed Grittiti appeared and declared that I had not even seen Cara Burmuz when he had chastised him for his insolence. The Scheran Bashi, with a great deal of sang froid, said he supposed the Christian had paid him well for appearing in his favor, that it was a singular thing to see a Mussulman take the part of a Christian against one of his bretheren, and hinted that he formerly was a Christian himself, accounted for his partiality. Mahommed indignantly replied that he was a better Mussulman than he was, that Cara Burmuz was a vile character, and that although he had it in his power to extort money from a poor Christian captive with impunity, that for every sequin he paid, Cara Burmuz should receive a drubbing, and he was as good as his word for every time he met him he broke his pipe over his head, until ultimately he was obliged to leave the city. Scheran Bashi then went to the Hasnagi and made out his own story—the Dey being at his country seat—this being Thursday evening he would not return until Friday, and no business would be done until Saturday, consequently had I went to prison I must have remained there until the Dey determined on the justice of the case which would have depended entirely upon the humor he might be in. I, therefore, concluded to make a virtue of necessity and agreed to pay this man one hundred and thirty manboobs, as the price of blood which I had not drawn, and returned home.

The third affair had liked to have been of a more serious nature. It happened on the anniversary of the eighth year of my captivity, and as it will show

the temperature of my mind at this epoch of my captivity, I will copy my memorandum thereof from my journal July 25, 1793:

"Oh, Heavens! this is the anniversary of the eighth year of my captivity. Is it possible that so young as I was when I was captured, that I could have incensed the Divine Disposer of all human events so much as to merit perpetual captivity, an exile forever from my dear but cruel Patria, lost to my dearest connections and friends, never more to see those who in early life guided, protected and educated me in the paths of virtue, and who with unavailing tears regret my loss? For eight years have I been exposed to every indignity that a Mahomedan could invent, to render the life of a Christian captive truly and sentimentally miserable; destitute of friends to console me in time of affliction—at times without either meat, drink or raiment, but the small miserable pittance of black bread, olives and horse beans allowed us by the Regency of Algiers, even the small allowance of seven and a half cents a day, which was allowed us by our country, has been long discontinued—ever since September, 1789, and no notice whatever taken of us for years, except that now and then some person would ascertain the sum demanded for our ransom, which for a time would revive our hopes, but ultimately would sink us into the abyss of despondency and despair, when we found that the report of our redemption being near would die away "and like the baseless fabric of a vision leave not a wreck behind;" continually inclosed in those pandemoniums called Bagnios

or Slave prisons, where every vice was not only tolerated but encouraged; exposed to the plague for several years, where hundreds of our fellow prisoners were dying around us, and thousands of the inhabitants, and not knowing but the present moment would be our last. O! America, could you see the miserable situation of your citizens in captivity, who have shed their blood to secure you the liberty you now possess and enjoy; and who now have their misery augmented by the consideration that the country for which they fought is now free and in a flourishing condition, you are the first that set the example to the world, to shake off the yoke of tyranny, to expel despotism and injustice from the face of the earth. The negroes have even had a share in your deliberations, and have reaped the benefits arising from your wise and wholesome laws and regulations, and we, the very men who have assisted in all your laudable enterprises, are now cast off because we have been unfortunate; are denied the rights of our common country. Have we sold our birth right? Are we excluded without a cause from the privileges enjoyed indiscriminately by the lowest class of our citizens? Was it not the calamities attending our country, that involved us in the misery we have so long experienced? Why then must we not be taken notice of? Why are we left the victims of arbitrary power and barbarous despotism, in a strange land far distant from all our connections, miserable exiles from the country for which we have fought, forgotten by our cotemporaries who formerly used to animate us in all our

expedition with tales of liberty? O! Tempora! O! Mores! Thou art the people that now leave us neglected, buried in oblivion in the dungeons of Algiers, suffering the most ignominous captivity, when the paltry sum of $48,300 would have redeemed us years ago, and none of us would have been buried in the sand of "Bebal Wed" at the present when from twenty-one, who were captured in 1785, we are reduced by the plague and contingences to only twelve, we might have been redeemed for a much smaller sum—nay, for less than $25,000; but it seems that we are doomed to be the only victims of American Independence. No means as yet have been pursued to extricate us from this terrestial purgatory, before the plague, which now rages in our prison, puts a final period to our existence.

O! America, if my sufferings could be of any benefit to you my beloved country, I would be happy in being the victim and glory in my chains; but as I am sure it cannot in the least degree, let me enjoy the melancholy privilege of bewailing my deplorable situation, which to a sentimental mind presents horors easier to imagine than to describe."

I had remained in the room allotted me in the Bagnio Gallera all day without having eaten anything, and about 3 o'clock went to the Mad House tavern to get my dinner, and to give some to my unfortunate brother sufferers, when they came from hard labor as was generally my custom to do, but whether the thought of my situation or not having eaten anything since the morning or both, aided by a glass or two of wine impaired my reason or not, I

am not aware, but I certainly acted very imprudently which had nearly ruined me forever. A sheriff—that is one who pretended to be a decendant of their Prophet Mahommed—desired me to rise and let him sit down, I told him that I was in my own house, and would finish my dinner before he, or any one else, would sit in my place. "What, dog without faith," answered this exasperated Moslem, "Will you presume to sit while one of the faithful and a sheriff stands?" You dare not call me a dog answered I; was I not a captive? You are an ungenerous cur for taking advantage of my situation; in any other I would cut your ears off; as far as being without faith I believe in the faith of my forefathers (la illah, ila Allah), there is no God but the true God. But as I was not born in the same country that you was, I have not been taught the symbol of your faith, but I know it. You say "la illah, ila Allah wa Mahomed Arasule Allah there is no God but the true God, and Mahomed is his prophet." I do not know Mahomed as a prophet, but I believe him to have been a very great law giver, who converted millions of Idolaters and induced them to worship the only true God as I do; but I question if you know the tenets of your own religion as well as I do, or even know the history of your saints who succeeded your prophet and propagated the religion you profess. This harangue from a Christian drew the attention of all true believers in the tavern and prevented the sheriff from remembering that I threatened to cut off his ears; and an old sheik asked me where and how long was it since Mahomed was born, and who were his successors, as he said that he believed that I had

assumed more knowledge than I possessed, building he supposed on the sheriff's ignorance, who was a soldier and not a learned man; that he was a Hadgi and had been twice to Mecca, and had the Koran by heart and consequently could not be deceived. I answered I had read the Koran and the life of Mahomed likewise in my own language, and as a proof that the translation was correct that I would answer his questions.

Mahomed the great law giver, I said, was born at Mecca in the month called Mary, in the year of Christ 571, and died at Medina on the 12th day of the 3rd month of Rabi-a-thani A. D., 632, and the 11th year of the Hegira, being 63 lunar years old at the time of his death. He was succeeded in the government by Ayesha's father, Abn Beckir, who was succeeded by Oman or Othman, who was succeeded by Ally Mahomed's son-in-law, who married Fatima, his daughter, by Cadigha, and had the best right to the succession, but was opposed three times successively by Ayesha and her party, and when ultimately he succeeded in obtaining the government, she and her party took up arms against him, and was the cause of the ruin of himself and his house. This was not a little facilitated by the death of his wife Fatima, which happened only sixty days after the death of her father, and considerably weakened his party. He, however, is adored to this day by the Persians, and some sects both in Asia and Africa. I was going to proceed when most of the Mahomedans exclaimed contemporaneously "Allah! Allah! Allah! this Christian is a

Mahomedan, or the son of some renegade who pretended to turn Christian to serve his private purposes, he must become one of us. What did you say is the difference between your faith and ours?" I foolishly repeated as before la illah, illa Allah is mine, "and ours" they rejoined, "la illah, illa Allah wa Mahomed Arasule Allah!" This was a trap they had set for me; "he is ours" cried they; "he has pronounced the symbol of our faith." The Cadhi who lived but a few doors off was called upon, but fortunately was not at home. Another went to the Turkish barracks to get the Muden; he was at the Mosque, and as the Turks were obliged to be in their barracks before dark, some dispersed and only a few remaining I desired my tavern keeper to satisfy the sheriff by giving him some money and cordials, and likewise to treat all others who were most intent on what had happened, and the Hadgi, who was a sober man, I presented with ten sequins, requesting him if any questions were asked in the morning to say that what I had said I had rehearsed from the Koran, which I had in my possession in my own language without any intention whatever. I then returned to my prison, and thus escaped the greatest danger I had ever been in since my captivity commenced. The next day all was quiet except that some person had informed the Dey that a respectable Christian slave had wanted to become a Moslem the evening before. The Dey sent for the Hadgi who in consequence of the ten sequins reported favorably, and threw all the blame upon the sheriff, who in the first instance had exasperated me. "That young man

has a hard head," said the Dey; "he has no more intention to turn Moslem than I have now to turn Christian; had he been so disposed he might have done it years ago much more to his advantage; for when I was Vikilharche of the Marine I offered him full pay if he would turn Turk, and the command of my largest cruiser, in which Salah Rais afterwards lost his life in the engagement with the Russians in the Black Sea, a wife and a house and garden and likewise to take care of his fortunes in future; and probably, had he accepted my offer, he might at this instance be either Vikilharche himself or at least Post Admiral; but his answer was worthy of even a Turk, he said he thanked me for the good opinion I entertained of him, and that he would endeavor to retain it, but that he would deserve contempt if he should become an apostate from the religion of his forefathers merely to promote his worldly interests. "I should dispise a Moslem" said he, "Was he to renounce his faith merely to better his situation, and pray Effendi" said he, with a tear glistening in his eye, "what have you seen in my conduct to induce you to form so contemptible an opinion of me? Do you suppose that I can not bear slavery with all its concomitants and degradations sooner than renounce the faith which I was taught to hold sacred by my mother, whom I hope yet to live to see and to thank more for her instructions than her nourishment."

"You see" says the Dey, "that this American has made fools of you all. In future you had better let him and his countrymen alone, and make converts

elsewhere, for they are as hard headed as Arnahauds or as Englishmen themselves."

This conversation was recited to me in the first instance by the Hadgi on whom the ten sequins and some small presents afterwards had a most wonderful effect, and likewise in part by the Dey after I became chief secretary to him and the Regency in 1792. The escape which I have just recited prevented me from ever disputing with a Moslem upon points of religion again, and ought to serve as a warning to all who read this journal and travel in those countries; for in fact had the Cadhi been at home he was in duty bound to have demanded my admission among the true believers, the Dey himself dare not have opposed it; and had I refused after having recited the symbol of their faith I would have been put to death as an apostate from it; so that I may conceive that I had a lucky escape.

From July 1791, I remained clerk to the Prime Minister, and to settle the accounts of the Dey's new house, which was not quite finished and which he sold to his Prime Minister when he became Dey himself.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE DEATH OF MAHOMED BASHAW, DEY OF ALGIERS.

Monday, July 11, 1791. Departed this life Mahomed Bashaw, Dey of Algiers, at a few minutes past five in the evening, after an illness of several days. This was kept a profound secret by Ciddi Ali, Vikilharche of the Marine, and Ciddi Mahomet Hasnadar or Dey's Chamberlain, until the night

when Ciddi Alli went over the terrace of the palace and tapped at the Hasnagi's or Prime Minister's window, and was answered by a Christian slave. Ciddi Ali told him to call his master and inform him he had some letters of importance from the Bey of Constantine for him, and begged he would come to the window. Immediately he accordingly came and was informed of the Dey's death, and that he, Ciddi Hassan, was appointed by the late Dey in his will to supply his place. Ciddi Hassan thanked him for his information, and begged of him to use the greatest precaution and take all necessary steps to prevent opposition. On the next day Ciddi Ali told him that he expected no opposition, but from the Aga or Generalissimo of the Regency.

ORDER OF PRECEDENCY IN THE REGENCY OF ALGIERS, 1791.

1. The Dey; 2. Hasnagi or Prime Minister; 3. Aga or Generalissimo of the Regency; 4. Bey; 5. Hodge d Carallos; 6. Bedelmel; 7. Vikilharche of the Marine; 8. Hasnadar or Dey's Chamberlain; 9. Vikilhadge of the Dey's Palace; 10. Hodges or Secretaries of State; 11. Money counter to the Treasury; 12. Moorish Secretary.

EXTRACT FROM MY LETTER TO PHILIP WERMER.

ALGIERS, May 20, 1791.

Surgeon of the British Factory, Algiers:—

SIR:—Not having had the pleasure of seeing you when I called upon your first arrival, give me leave now to congratulate you on your safe arrival, and most sincerely hope your affairs in Europe have exceeded your most sanguine expectations.

Mr. Philip Sloan informed me, some days ago, that you had taken down many of my brother sufferers' names in order to send with a memorial to John Horne Tooke, Esq., who intends to plan a subscription for their redemption, and that among others you have inserted mine. Too many enconiums can not be passed on the disinterested humanity of that worthy gentleman for exerting himself in favor of his distressed countrymen; but although liberty is the greatest blessing man can enjoy and the most desirable to attain, yet on mature deliberation I cannot think of accepting Mr. Tooke's benevolent offer, nor do I ever intend to reap the benefit of them, but will strongly recommend the rest of my brother sufferers to his attention, for beside the difficulty, or more properly speaking, the impossibility of raising £8,000 for the redemption of the citizens of the United States, do you imagine that the declining Empire of Great Britain would wish to have rescued from slavery the citizens of a power which promises fair to be her greatest rival at a period not far distant, and by whose agency they emigrate and thus encourage her seamen to emigrate to America, by assuring them that they will be redeemed by Great Britain and extricated out of whatever labyrinth they might fall into. You may aver that the proposed subscription will be effected by private donations, and has no concern with national funds or affairs; but I am of the opinion that all subscriptions are more or less public, and must of course in such a nation as Great Britain, come under the inspection of those whose duty it is to oppose any such measures being carried into effect by the humane.

Without presuming to dictate, give me leave to observe that Mr. Horne Tooke might adopt a more expedient way of extricating his unfortunate countrymen from bondage (that is such of them as would accept of his beneficience) by having recourse to Mr. Benton's will in the guardianship of the company of iron mongers of London, as most of them are heirs to that, for notwithstanding the act which specifies that British subjects captured by the Barbary States under foreign flags are excluded from that privilege, but that was enacted a considerable time after the 25th of July, 1785, the day that our captivity commenced, in order to prevent British seamen from emigrating to America. But in regard to those who were here already, it is void and of no effect whatever. But let Mr.

Horne Tooke's method be either, it will forever reflect honor on his character, and history will hereafter record him for his unprejudiced humanity, as much as Cyrus was for his magnanimity. But should he succeed, as it is my sincere wish he may, I never will degrade myself or family so much as to become the object of public charity. It never shall be said by my relatives that I was redeemed by public subscription, after plunging myself into slavery in the service of America. You possibly imagine that I have degenerated from my pristine sentiments since my captivity commenced, that I would accept my redemption from any quarter, and embrace liberty even in the foulest form. If that is the case, let me correct that opinion now and forever. What opinion would those who know my sentiments have of me, should I debase myself so much as to use supplication to the member of a community to which I am by no means attached or sue for a favor I never intend to repay—I mean by serving the country that redeemed me, which I would never do was I to be redeemed by Great Britain tomorrow.

These sir, are my sentiments, my unalterable sentiments, unbiased by self interest, or any other interest; for gold, although universally adored, has not yet so much ascendency over me as to induce me to an act that my conscience cannot approve, nor have I ever once doubted the liberality of the country whose cause I voluntarily espoused when at large, but am firmly resolved to wait with fortitude becoming a Christian and an American, until my captivity expires by an honorable redemption, and by my perseverance will endeavor to merit the attention of that worthy country my adopted Patria. I shall do myself the honor to write Mr. Horne Tooke to the above purport, only with this difference, that I will recommend the Oran Englishmen to his notice, the redeeming of whom would be a much greater charity, as they have no expectation but what is derived from the clemency of Great Britain, of which they have great reason to despair. With all due respect I beg leave to subscribe myself,

Your most obedient servant,

JAMES LEANDER CATHCART.

The above was written before I was quite 22 years of age, from a prison where the plague had

raged twice and where I had been six years, remaining nearly five years longer, when I left Algiers to save the peace, in my own vessel, navigated by myself and manned with Moors, with dispatches from Algiers to Alicant, Lisbon, and Philadelphia.

COPY OF A LETTER TO CAPT. O'BRIEN DURING THE PLAGUE.

DEATH'S DOOR, ALGIERS, March 2, 1793.

MY DEAR SIR:—I am sorry to be under the necessity of troubling you at this melancholy crisis of mortality, but the friendship that has subsisted between us during the trying time of our captivity, I hope will make you pardon my intrusion.

I am sorry to inform you that Matthew Carrol went to the hospital yesterday with the plague, and that Peter Tessanaer is struck with it, just now has come from the Marine, and is in the hospital. I have had communication with both of them, and at this inst. I cannot possibly say but I may be on the verge of eternity.

In case I should soon take my departure, I beg of you to try all means to convey the intelligence at some future period to some of my friends. This possibly may be the last favor I ever will demand of you, and I hope you will not deny me.

I forgive Stephens from my heart, but if I die of this distemper, he certainly will have his conduct to answer for, relative to me, before a just God who makes no difference between the captain and the sailors, as he has been the means of hindering me from being accommodated out of the reach of the plague—it seems as if I was doomed to be a victim to this contagion. This is the third plague I have been exposed to and always in the Bagnio, but God's will be done. When my mind is less agitated I will write to you again. Pray favor me with an answer by the bearer. Wholly resigned to the will of God, I beg leave to subscribe myself

Your affectionate and unfeigned friend,

CATHCART.

P. S.—By the bearer receive a watch chain and seal; if I weather Cape Desolation, you will give it me again; if I do not, I beg of you to keep it as a small token of remembrance of a disinterested friend in the shades.

ALGIERS, March 3, 1793.

DEAR SIR:—Sensible how necessary timely consolation must be to a person of your sympathetic disposition, I am happy to inform you that the fever has left Tessanaer, and there is great expectation of his recovery; however we at present dread a relapse. I entertain some doubts relative to its authenticity, and I think it may prove the reverse, which pray God it may. My poor friend Carrol is likewise in a fair way, the fever has left him, he has a very large carbuncle on his leg, which has been lanced and the doctor says he will, with God's assistance, escape the effects of this dreadful contagion. With my sincere prayer for the infirm, and a continuation of your health,

Your sincere friend,

CATHCART.

INVOCATION.

Oh! Omnipotent and Omnipresent Being, who beholdest the most hidden recesses of our hearts, influence that most august assembly of the United States of America, headed by the immortal Washington, in our favor, in order to extricate us with honor, from this state of incomprehensible misery in which we have remained seven years, without any one period of sentimental relief. This, O! most merciful God, is the anniversary of my departure from Boston, little imagining that I was to be buried from my country, my fellow citizens and all my dearest connections, to incur the displeasure of a just God; for surely nothing else could provide such a superlative degree of horror from one extreme of wretchedness to another, as I have experienced since my miserable captivity commenced. But sustained by thy Almighty grace and that philosophy, which I have always taken pains to cultivate in extreme

danger, I am preserved, myself to be a spectator of the small ray of hope we see reflected from our western world, through the channel of our present negotiation, magnified by the anxiety of our minds, longing to behold our beloved country. We are now in longing expectation of seeing our flag displayed in Africa, and we restored to our country, our liberty; and inspired by our long period of adversity with a spirit which, I hope, will make us worthy the patronage of the humane and benevolent Washington, the protector of his country and father of his people. The poor slaves in general never were in a more miserable situation than they are at present; wretchedness is painted on almost all their countenances, hard labor, scant provisions, injurious treatment, and blows from their cruel and most inhuman task masters. O! heavens, to insult distress in captivity and extreme wretchedness; what an unnatural deed, and is too much to bear to add to the load of misery that is borne by an afflicted slave, is unhuman beyond expression, and barbarous in a superlative degree. God forgive the perpetrators of such horrid deeds!

I became secretary to the Dey and Regency of Algiers, in March, 1792. This office became vacant by the redemption of my friend Mr. D'Andreis, with whom I was acquainted in Boston. The Dey remembered me and said that as I had fulfilled the duties of the different subordinate offices of clerk of the Marine, etc., that I ought to be preferred to the highest post a Christian can attain. He, therefore, appointed me the same day. Notwithstanding that the Dey appointed me in consequence of my former

services, he had it not in his power to exempt me from paying 1000 sequins to the Hasna or public treasury, and 383 sequins, the customary fee, to the officers of the government. This is paid in consequence of being entitled to redemption by any nation whatever, who either concludes a peace or ransoms their citizens, even should it take place the next day after his appointment, besides other perquisites. The Dey himself (strange as it may seem) loaned me 500 sequins, and my generous friend, the Messrs. Skjoldebrands (the Swedish counsul and brother) loaned me 500 more, which I paid as the fee to the public treasury. I must not forget to mention my obligations upon this occasion, but upon a former one when I was by no means in so eligible a situation. These worthy and generous men loaned me $5000 to purchase a prize loaded with wine, on which I made a good speculation, without any interest or reward whatever, out of pure friendship. Although they knew the risk they run, for had I died or committed any fault, real or imaginary, before they were paid, the Regency would have seized all my property as their slave, and they would have lost every dollar of their money. Such unprecedented acts of generosity ought to be recorded on the tablet of our memory forever, never to be effaced. My gratitude to them is eternal and knows no bounds. The property I accumulated enabled me to purchase the vessel, of which I took the command, when I came to Philadelphia in 1796, to bring the articles to secure the peace.

CHAPTER X.

NEGOTIATIONS IN BARBARY.

Arrival of Joseph Donaldson at Algiers the 3rd of September. Peace concluded between the United States of America and Hassan Bashaw, Dey of Algiers, Sep. 5, 1795.

On the 13th of August, 1795, a Spanish boat arrived from Alicant and brought letters from Joseph Donaldson to Messrs. Skjoldebrand and O'Brien, and from Mr. Montgomery to me. In concurrence with the opinion of Messrs. Skjoldebrand and O'Brien, I waited upon the Dey and informed him that an American gentleman, at Alicant, requested to be permitted to kiss his Excellency's hand on terms of peace. The Dey asked if it was the Ambassador he had so long expected. I answered that it was not, but that he was sent by him as his precursor; that the Ambassador had gone to France on public business, and very probably to arrange the pecuniary matters requisite to carry the treaty into effect, provided this gentleman concluded any. The Dey said he did not understand the reason why so many changes and delays had been made, and asked me if I would undertake the responsibility of the person who was desirous to come to Algiers; that he actually

had full power to negotiate peace and the ransom of the captives. I answered my head for it, Effendi, that he has, otherwise he would not ask permission to come here; but at the same time it is incumbent on me to inform your Excellency, that those powers are limited to a specific sum which he cannot surpass; therefore if your Excellency does not intend to lower your first demands, and that very considerably, you had much better not give him permission to come at all. "Do you want a peace (Jabba) for nothing?" asked the Dey somewhat irritated. "No, Effendi," I replied, "but we want peace on the same terms that the Dutch obtained peace, which would give the president of the United States an opportunity of proving to you, Excellency, and your family, the high sense he entertains of your justice and moderation, and to compensate you for your influence with your predecessor in our favor, although we reaped no benefit from it we have not forgotten it." "If you did not benefit by my good will it was your own fault," replied the Dey; "but what good did you ever do us to expect to obtain peace on the same terms as Holland, who has been supplying us with stores for a century when we were at war with Spain." "Permit me to ask your Excellency what harm did we ever do you? Have you not taken thirteen sail of our vessels, and one hundred and thirty-one of our people whom you have made slaves, and have I not been more than ten years in captivity, which I would consider as time well spent, if I could be the medium of establishing peace and harmony between our nations." "So you may," replied

the Dey, "but you must pay for it," his mustachios curled indicative of a squall, as O'Brien would say. "We wish to pay you, Effendi, and to make you feel how much we respect and esteem you; but not on the same scale as Spain, Portugal and Naples, who have been at war with you since the commencement of the Hegira. In our country we have no religious test, nor enmity against those of your religion; you may build Mosques, hoist your flag on the tower, chant the symbol of your faith in public, without any person interrupting you, Mussulmen may enjoy places of honor or trust under the government, or even become president of the United States, and ought not these circumstances to be taken into consideration? You do not enjoy any of those privileges in any Roman Catholic country or indeed in any other; and if you make those nations pay high for peace, it is on the principle of retaliation, because they have made you pay millions in defensive measures; but we have never been at war with you." The Dey's whiskers gradually assumed their natural position. "Let him come," answered the Dey, "I will hear what he has to say himself." I informed the Dey that my word would not be sufficient; that it would be necessary to send him a passport, under the seal of the Regency, for his security. "That is not customary," answered the Dey, "and has never been granted by this Regency to the Ambassadors of any nation; it would look as if we were suing for peace and not them." I informed his Excellency that it need not be made out in Turkish, that I would write one in English which would answer the same

purpose as we would keep it a profound secret from every person but those immediately concerned. After a little more persuation the Dey gave me permission. I wrote it in his apartment and put the seal to it, kissed the Dey's hand and retired. I then wrote a letter to Mr. Donaldson and enclosed the passport and gave them to Mr. Skjoldebrand, who chartered a Ragusean Brig for $400 to go to Alicant and bring Mr. Donaldson to Algiers, and at 2 P. M. of the same day, I went down to the Marine and put our dispatches on board, prohibited the Captain from taking letters from any person, and waited until the Captain of the Port hauled his vessel out of the mole and made sail.

Mr. Valliere had sent to request that I would call on him, but I had not time. I saw him in the afternoon at the Swedish Consul's. He requested me to do him the favor to explain Mr. Donaldson's letter to him, which I told him I would do with pleasure, and indeed that I thought I could do it pretty correctly without looking at it, for its contents were well known in the Bagnios—slave prisons. After I had explained the letter to him he turned to O'Brien and asked who had chartered the Ragusean vessel, who, in order to exonerate Mr. Skjoldebrand, who did not wish to be known in the business publicly, answered that he had chartered her himself. Valliere, with a great deal of annoyance, said "pray sir what is the reason that I was not made acquainted with that transaction?" O'Brien answered that he did not consider himself under any obligation to consult him. Valliere said that he had treated him with great

disrespect, and O'Brien replied not with as much as his conduct to us merited, and retired.

I was sorry in this stage of the business that O'Brien had affronted the French Consul; but really his conduct towards us had been so exceptionable that he deserved a check, and as he voluntarily placed himself under the lee of O'Brien's guns I do not wonder that he got a broadside.

The celerity of those transactions prevented our enemies from calculating consequences or having time to oppose our measures; for in six hours after we received Donaldson's letters, the answer, with the Dey's passport, were on their passage to Alicant. I was very sensible of the risk I run in offering myself to the Dey to guarantee not only his arrival but the extent of his powers. Had he refused to come to Algiers I should not have fared well. The Dey, like other chief magistrates, if the measure was attended with success, would assume the credit, but if the reverse, would throw the stigma on those who recommended or promoted it. Skjoldebrand, and every one else, kept behind the curtain. I was the only ostensible person employed on the business, and I was entirely in the Dey's power, and he had often been disappointed by the United States before, and his patience was almost exhausted. His Ministers disappointed of their expectations would induce the Dey to believe that he had been trifled with, and consequently insulted, and would appear ridiculous in the eyes of his people; and the blame must have fallen on somebody; and who could it have fallen on but me, who was the only person exposed, and it

is certain that if either of the aforesaid events had taken place, I would have lost my head, or probably, my body would have been made a luminary to light my soul in its ascent from the Jews' burial place to the mansions of bliss in Mahomet's paradise. Peter Erick Skjoldebrand one day after peace took place, in conversation with Mr. Donaldson, mentioned the great risk I had run. "Yes," answered he, "much greater than you imagine, for I had twice determined to send the vessel away without him." "If you had," said Erick, "poor Cathcart would have been sacrificed." "Well, if he had," said Donaldson, "the world would have gone on just the same way without him. If he is fool enough to run such risks he must abide by the consequences and no one will thank him for his zeal." What a prophecy! how it has been verified since; but I did not believe the United States would be classed in the number—the people are not ungrateful.

I had now the influence of the Spanish Consul, Don Juan Garrigo and the Father Administrator, who were all agents of Portugal to combat. The British Consul was an Englishman, and consequently an enemy, but fortunately had not much energy or influence. The French Consul did not openly oppose us, but the intrigues of the agents of the Chamber of Commerce of Marseilles had great weight, who were opposed to the United States obtaining peace with the Barbary States, because it would interfere with their interests in the carrying and in the grain trade. The Dutch and Swedes had lately renewed their treaties of peace, and were not

in much danger of any alteration taking place at present, the latter were our private friends but declined any public agency in our affairs.

Denmark and Venice fearful of the blow falling on one of them—as it seldom happens that peace is made with one nation without the Consul of another being sent away, as the prelude to war—contented themselves with raising reports prejudicial to our interests, and to induce the Dey to believe that the United States had neither the means nor the inclination to comply with his demands. Thus situated when Donaldson's letters arrived, which acknowledged that he had powers, although they were not defined, and knowing that a more favorable opportunity than the present would not probably occur for a number of years, and believing the Dey was really disposed to abandon the extravagant terms he had heretofore insisted on, I determined to run any risk to bring Mr. Donaldson to Algiers as soon as possible, and thus to prevent the agents of other nations from having time to injure our interests by intrigue, which under other circumstances would appear to have been too precipitate. The Dey, in the meantime, informed me of the suggestions of our enemies which gave me an opportunity to counteract them.

On the 20th of August, having previously obtained permission from the Dey, I bespoke a neat little house in the vicinity of the Swedish Consul for the reception of Mr. Donaldson on his arrival; but Peter Erick requested me as a very particular favor not to take a house so near theirs, as it would be

considered as a preconcerted plan by the rest of the Consuls, and that he might as well receive him in his own house, which he would be very happy to do, were it not for the jealousy of the other Consuls, who, should any of them be sent away, would not fail to represent to their Court that they had aided us to procure peace; that the Danish and Swedish Consuls had orders to assist each other in difficult cases; and that if the Danish Consul should be sent away as a prelude to war, and should he have it in his power to complain of their assisting us, it would be very prejudicial to his brother, who would be censured by his Court; for that reason they were obliged to be circumspect, but that they would at all times render us assistance, in a private way, that they could consistant with the interest of their own nation. I therefore complied with his request, and the next day informed his Excellency that I could not procure a house for the Ambassador, and requested to be permitted to make use of one belonging to the Regency. He said it was not customary, but that he would pay the Ambassador of America as much respect as possible, was it for no other reason than to pique the British who were our inveterate enemies and on very bad terms with him, and desired me to ask the Vikilhadge of the palace for the keys of the Caliph's new house, which I received and gave them to Micaiah Baccri, to have cleaned and whitewashed, and I furnished two rooms at my own expense, for which I received little thanks.

The Dey ever impatient began to suspect that Donaldson would not come to Algiers, which gave

me an opportunity to find a door to creep out in case he did not come. When Donaldson wrote to us, he mentioned that he had intended to have sent Mr. Philip Sloan with his letter; but that the governor of Alicant had refused to let him embark without receiving an order from his Court at Madrid. This may serve to show the interest which Spain took in the affairs of Portugal, and the desire she had to frustrate our peace. Sloan had been one of the Dey's attendants, and was redeemed by the Dutch, and had taken letters to America and returned to Europe with Col. Humphreys. When I informed the Dey that the governor of Alicant had prevented him from coming over in the packet, and told him that Sloan had been in America and had returned with the Ambassador, and consequently, had he arrived he could have given him an account of the causes which had prevented his coming in person to Algiers, he was so exasperated that he ordered the town cryer to proclaim that—except the vessels that were then loading in Port—no person should ship even an onion for Spain, and that all intercourse should be suspended. I found it to our advantage to foment this discord, and told the Dey that in case our Ambassador did not come, it would be in consequence of the Spaniards, informing him that the terms exacted for peace from the United States were nearly the same as those demanded from Portugal, which he had refused to lower, and that he, supposing his Excellency would not be more favorable to the United States, thought it would be useless for him to come at all; but that what I said was only con-

jecture, that he might come yet. "Did not I tell you," said the Dey, "that those that add can subtract, and that let the Ambassador come and we would agree; did not I tell the agents of Portugal that I would not abate one asper of my first demand, and are those answers the same? Can you see no difference in them?" I said that I saw a vast difference in them. "Then why did you not inform your Ambassador of it—what do you think I said it for?" I answered that I did not find myself responsible or justifiable in divulging anything his Excellency might say without receiving his express orders so to do. "As a general rule you are right," answered he, "but in this case you might have deviated. But I see you have a head, and your Ambassador will receive information from elsewhere, although you may not divulge my secrets, I am going to prayers," said he.

From this date to the 2nd of September, I had daily conferences with the Dey, who had become impatient and doubtful whether the Ambassador would come or not. I advised his Excellency to have patience, at least until the vessel returned; that common politeness would induce the Ambassador to send an answer, and if he did not come, if the Dey would state his ultimatum, I would take it over to Alicant myself. "Yes, and never come back again" said the Dey. Your Excellency has never had any reason to doubt my veracity—I would do what I promised; but my countrymen remaining behind me is a sufficient guarantee for my ransom, besides I could have been free long ago if I had thought

proper to accept my ransom from the British. I then explained two instances to him of my refusing to be redeemed, which I could easily perceive increased his good opinion of me. "But what terms could I state that would make the Ambassador come?" I don't know precisely but what the United States expects a peace on the same terms as the Dutch, and will make you a private present of $100,000 and $50,000 to your family, as a mark of your friendship and an acknowledgment of the favors they have or may receive from your Excellency. "It is a mere trifle" said the Dey, and got up from his seat, not in a bad humor, as his whiskers did not curl neither did his beard stand erect, and I thought I could perceive a latent spark of satisfaction illumine his countenance. I don't think I was deceived, for I have been in the habit of reading his countenance and he was a man wholly governed by his passions, and I am as certain, that had I had power delegated to me that at that moment I could have obtained peace and the ransom of our people for $450,000, and this I communicated to Messrs. Skjoldebrand, who for the first time believed that peace would be the result of the negotiation if not too long delayed.

In this train were affairs when I was relieved from great anxiety by the appearance of the Ragusian vessel we had sent for Donaldson, with an American flag at the main and a flag of truce at the fore, and her own colors flying. I immediately informed the Dey that the vessel was in sight and that from the colors flying I knew the Ambassador was on board.

"I am glad of it," said he, "bring him on shore to the house prepared for him. I am going to my country seat to see my wife." Her ladyship will not be forgot in the terms of peace, answered I—the Dey looked over his shoulder and smiled.

The Brig anchored in the bay, and while going down to the Marine to get a boat to bring Donaldson on shore, I was met by Captain O'Brien and Micaiah Cohen Baccri, who wished to go on board with me; the former was stopped as no slave except the Dey's chief clerk is allowed to go out of the mole, but upon my becoming responsible for his return he was permitted to go with me, and on Thursday the 3rd day of September, 1795, Mr. Donaldson landed and was safely deposited in the house prepared for him at 3 P. M.

Joseph Donaldson, Jr., Esq., was a man upwards of 50 years old, of a forbidding countenance and remarkably surly. His disposition was more soured by a fit of the gout and the roughness of the pavement, besides the length of the walk was sufficient to have tired the patience of a man in good health, followed as we were by a crowd of people to see what sort of an animal the American Ambassador was, and Donaldson had an unconquerable antipathy to be stared at. He was dressed in decent plain clothes, a cocked hat such as was worn in the Revolutionary war, much resembling those that are painted to grace the portraits of Frederick II., his right leg muffled in flannel, shod with a large velvet slipper, and his right arm leaning on a crutch to support him. The weather was very warm; the

agony which Donaldson was in occasioned by the gout, and the mortification which he felt at being stared at, together with some children running across him, put him in a paroxysm of rage which he endeavored to suppress, while the perspiration ran down both sides of his face and almost blinded him. His ludicrous appearance, joined to the contortions of his countenance, and the observations of the Moors who are fond of giving nick-names to all that have any defects, excited my risible faculties so much, that it was with the greatest exertion that I confined them within the borders of common decency. The idea, at the same time striking me, that if Donaldson had a patch on his eye and O'Brien a wooden leg, that they would be Commodore Trunnion and Lieutenant Hatchway personified, did not lessen the excitement. At length we arrived at the Caliph's new house, now Mr. Donaldson's new residence, and he had to climb up a long flight of marble steps of stairs to his apartment. The cold of the marble increased the pain he was in, when he threw himself on a couch his hat on one side and his crutch on the other, and uttered a string of ejaculations and execrations, so equally mixed together that I could not discover which predominated. "What is the matter?" said the Jew, with a look of astonishment. "Nothing at all," said O'Brien, "the Ambassador is only saying his prayers and giving God thanks for his safe arrival." "His devotion is very fervent," replied Micaiah. By this time a good dinner which I had ordered from my tavern arrived, to which with some fruits of the season and some

good wine we sat down. Mr. Donaldson appeared more reconciled to his situation and the pain of the gout was considerably abated. After dark Peter Erick called to see him and staid to a late hour, when our affairs were discussed from the arrival of John Lamb in 1786, to the present time, and I put him in possession of my journal, containing all the negotiations that had taken place since my arrival in Algiers in 1785, and that part of my correspondence which would be useful to him.

CHAPTER XI.

On Friday the 4th of September, being Mussulman's Sabbath, no business is done in the palace; nevertheless knowing the utility of dispatch in order to prevent our enemies from having time for intrigue, I obtained permission from the Dey to present Mr. Donaldson to him in the morning. At 7 A. M. he presented his credentials which I read and explained to the Dey, and observed that all I had promised to the Dey had been complied with; the Ambassador had arrived and had power to treat for peace. "Yes," replied the Dey, "but peace is not made yet." "That depends upon your Excellency entirely," I said; "if you ask more than we have to give no peace will be made, but if you ask within our limits, peace may be concluded within four hours." "It is Jima (Sabbath)" replied the Dey, "we will see about these affairs tomorrow." We retired after compliments.

There were present at this audience, Micaiah Baccri, Mr. Sloan, and the Swedish Consul's Drogoman, who attended to get a present should peace be concluded. Nevertheless, at 9 A. M., the Dey sent and asked me if I was certain that the Ambassador had full power to treat with him on terms of peace. I replied that I had read and explained his credentials to his Excellency, and that therefore he was as

well informed on the subject as I was. "Then take to him the terms that you made out by my orders last year, and let me know what he thinks of them." "He will reject them, and if your Excellency does not lower your demands to what has been paid by other small nations, he will go about his business and nothing will be done," I replied. "I command you instantly to take those demands to your Ambassador, and to bring me his answer and his proposals in return and don't say another word, I will have this business settled immediately." When I went to kiss the Dey's hand, my foot slipped on the marble pavement. "Can you not stand?" said the Dey. "Yes, but the weight of your Excellency's proposal made me stumble." I was informed afterwards that the Dey laughed heartily at this reply, and told it to his Ministers after peace was concluded. I took the Dey's first proposals to Mr. Donaldson, amounting to the enormous sum of $2,247,000 and two Frigates of thirty-five guns each for peace, an annuity of stores to the value of 12,000 sequins and Ambassadors, Consular and bi-ennial presents, such as are given by Sweden, Denmark and Holland. Donaldson was in despair. He said he had done wrong to come to Algiers at all; that any offer that he could make would be an insult to the Dey; and that he therefore would not make any. Messrs. Skjoldebrand, O'Brien, and myself endeavord to persuade him to make some proposal to the Dey, be it ever so small, and that Cathcart would take the risk upon himself to take it to the Dey. I answered that as I had the Dey's orders to bring him an answer; it would be

better to offer him something than not to offer him anything, and advised Mr. Donaldson to read the copies of my last letters to Montgomery, and after he had done so we sat down in conclave and produced proposals number two, which offered the Dey $543,000 for peace and the ransom of our captives. I took the proposal to the Dey accompanied by Mr. Sloan, Micaiah Cohen Baccri absolutely refusing to accompany us. He said the offer was so small, in proportion to the Dey's demands, that he would not take it to the Dey for the difference; that he had not forgotten the treatment he had received, when he was assisting Holland to renew her treaty, and that he was determined not to run any risk in future. This put me in mind of the roasting the Dey had promised him, and putting on a very melancholy countenance, I requested Mr. Donaldson that in case I should be burned and he escaped a roasting, which I would endeavor to prevent as I was fond of good company, I requested him to save some of my ashes and send them to the museum at Philadelphia. But Donaldson did not like the joke and less when Peter Erick informed him that both the French and Venitian Consuls had been threatened as well as Micaiah Baccri. I presented proposals number two to the Dey, and explained them to him; he first smiled with contempt and then broke out in a rage. "What do you mean by bringing such proposals to me," said the Dey." "Do you want to make game of me?" No, these are the Ambassador's proposals not mine. His powers are limited and he can offer no more and this offer is more than you got from

the Dutch. "You are a liar, and an Infidel," said this tyrant. "Your Ambassador's powers are not limited; for the French Consul has sent to inform me that he has *carte blanche* and can give what he pleases for peace." If your Excellency had told the French Minister that he was a liar and an ignorant fellow he would have richly deserved it, for the president of the United States has not the power that he has informed you our Ambassador has. Our Divan makes the appropriation for every expenditure and the president and those employed by him cannot surpass it; therefore the Ambassador has offered all that he is authorized to give, and if it is not accepted he has no alternative but to wait for fresh instructions, which he will not receive in less than a year; that the French Consul had frequently informed me that he would not intermeddle with our affairs until he received orders from his government. "Has he received any now to embroil our affairs?" I asked. The Dey replied "he says he has none now, and gave me this information from motives of friendship only." That man is incapable of friendship, I said; may be he wants a cargo of wheat from you as he did when you returned the presents to him. Be assured that he has some sinister views, for he is esteemed by the other Consuls as a mercenary man, no better than a Jew broker, and has given you this false information from private pique; because, being informed of his character we were determined to have nothing to do with him, and I begged his Excellency not to listen to such malicious reports in future. "Senza feda," (without faith) said the Dey,

"you have not been so long in Algiers for nothing. If you had not dictated those terms how should that man, who only arrived in Algiers yesterday, know how to appropriate the different sums specified in his proposals?" I replied that I was an American; that I drew pay from my country; that I was in duty bound to give our Ambassador all the information which I possessed; but, at the same time, as a grateful servant of the Dey, he would be pleased to observe that his Excellency and his family had been well taken care of, and had been considered our principal and indeed only friends. "Read your proposal again," said he, I complied "$100,000 for me, and $50,000 for my family; sequins you mean?" "No sir, dollars." "Go out of my sight immediately thou dog without a soul," said he in a passion, "and never presume to bring such trifling terms into me again under pain of my displeasure"—i. e. a bastinadoing at least.

We retired to Mr. Donaldson's house where we met Mr. Skjoldebrand and O'Brien and informed them of the result of our conference. Donaldson said the business was at an end; that he had gone as far as his instructions and would go no farther. Mr. Skjoldebrand advised him to advance something more even if it should be a trifle, as the Dey was a very capricious and passionate man, and was he to be offended we would probably never have so good an opportunity to establish peace, not only with Algiers but with all the Barbary States, again; and that considering the magnitude of the object meant to secure, he was of the opinion, and we all joined

with him, that the negotiation ought not to be broken off for a few thousand dollars. Donaldson said that he could not give one dollar more let the consequences be what they would. Then said I, Mr. Donaldson, the sooner you pack up your clothes the better, for I assure you that peace is not attainable on your terms, although it is probable it may be for forty or fifty thousand dollars more. At 2 P. M. the Dey sent for me and scolded like a virago for having the presumption to bring such terms from Mr. Donaldson, and accused me of having coalesced with the lame Ambassador to trifle with him, and to insult him. I told the Dey plainly that I was placed in a very disagreeable situation; that he accused me of being partial to the Ambassador, and the Ambassador seemed to think that I espoused his cause—the fact is I have neither done the one or the other. I knew my country wished for peace, and I endeavored to procure it for her by all the means in my power; that by my persuasion Mr. Donaldson had offered at once all he had authority to give, and did not stand huckstering like a Jew; that he might probably be worth forty or fifty thousand dollars of his own private property, which I was persuaded he would run the risk of losing could that procure peace; that I would run the risk of all I was worth, about $10,000, but that I considered it extremely hard to be accused wrongfully of partialities which did not exist. The Dey answered by desiring me to sit down and write, when he dictated proposals number three amounting to $982,000, which was a pretty good fall off from his first proposals. I took

these to Mr. Donaldson who rejected them. Messrs. Skjoldebrand, O'Brien and Sloan endeavored to persuade him to advance something on his first proposal, which he absolutely refused to do. He desired me to inform the Dey that he would not give one dollar more for peace. I told him the consequence would be that the Dey would get in a passion, and that he would be ordered out of the country, and that I probably would receive a regalo of five or six hundred bastinadoes on the soles of the feet for the service I had rendered him. He said if he was ordered out of the country, he had no remedy but to go, and that if I received a bastinadoing, I would have the consolation of having received it for having endeavored to promote the interest of my country. I answered that as he seemed so indifferent to my fate I requested him to send Sloan or Micaiah into the palace with his answer to the Dey. They both refused to go, and said the Dey had sent me with the proposals and had ordered me to take the answer to him, and that they would not take such an answer to the Dey for the whole difference between the Dey's demand and Mr. Donaldson's offer. I was piqued a good deal, and in fact was under the necessity of taking the answer to the Dey; but in order to mortify Donaldson for his ill-timed obstinacy, I told him that I would endeavor to reverse the tables on him; that I had property enough to pay my ransom or would be redeemed by Portugal, if I thought proper to espouse their cause; and that I would place him in a position to receive the bastinadoes which he thought so light about, and that he

might console himself by knowing that it was an excellent cure for the gout.

I took Donaldson's answer to the Dey; he seemed exasperated to a high degree, and threatened to give me five hundred bastinadoes if I ever came to speak to him on the subject again, and desired me to embark the Tupal (lame) Ambassador on board the vessel he came in the next morning at daylight, and tell him to leave the Regency without delay, as he would permit no person to remain here to trifle with him as he had done. I found that this was an improper time to remonstrate with the Dey, and deferred any farther communication on the subject until the morning and went and gave the Dey's message to Donaldson, and told him if he wished to save himself from disgrace he would attend to the Dey's orders, and wished him a good evening and a pleasant passage. Skjoldebrand and O'Brien requested me to stay a little longer, which I refused, until Donaldson sent Sloan to request me not to be in such a hurry, that he wanted to speak with me. I returned when Mr. Skjoldebrand again endeavored to persuade him not to break of the negotiation for a few thousand dollars; to consider how soon the United States would be reimbursed the sum paid for peace by the trade of the Mediterranean, and the possibility of Portugal concluding a peace or a truce which would open the Straits of Gibralter to the excursions of the Cruisers of Algiers, and be the means of capturing a number of our vessels and enslaving our citizens, who must be redeemed some time or another. Donaldson seemed a little more

flexible but said he wondered he had not seen the French Consul since he arrived. We all agreed that it was extraordinary that he had not called on him as a matter of courtesey; but I informed him that he could expect no favor or assistance from him, for that he had already informed the Dey that he had carte blanche. He doubted it. I pledged him my honor to prove it, and requested him to send for the French Consul and invite him to drink tea with him. This he refused on point of etiquette, and after informing him of Valliere's conduct and character and the events which prevented him from having any influence at all, even if he had been well disposed towards us, we informed him unanimously that if Valliere assumed any agency in our affairs we would withdraw ours immediately. We then informed Mr. Donaldson that he had not placed that confidence in us which we merited; that he had never informed us of the extent of his power. Sloan said that Col. Humphreys had stated to him that if Mr. Donaldson should exceed his orders fifty or sixty thousand dollars, it would be of no moment, considering the magnitude and importance of the object in view, and that therefore as citizens of the United States who had nothing in view but the interest of our country, we did not think ourselves justifiable in letting the negotiation be broken off while we had it in our power to prevent it. I therefore proposed to request the Dey to permit Mr. Donaldson to remain here until Mr. Sloan went to Col. Humphreys and brought fresh instructions. Skjoldebrand said that, if there was no other alternative,

even this would be better than to break off the negotiation altogether; but that the Dey would increase his demands on a supposition that Col. Humphreys had increased the latitude given to Donaldson. He at last acknowledged that he did not imagine that the Dey would have acted so precipitately, or that Cathcart had so much energy, or had exerted himself so much as he is now convinced he has done; that he was limited to $650,000 including all expenses, and that farther he could not go. I answered that if he would leave it to me, I would guarantee the peace and ransom for fifty or sixty thousand dollars less. This was agreed to, and Micaiah was sent to the first Secretary of State to insure his influence by the promise of a present to prevent him from opposing peace; but the Dey never consulted him, and proposals number four amounting to $585,000 were made out, signed and sealed for me to take to the Dey early in the morning, at the time Mr. Donaldson was ordered to embark. Sloan and Micaiah promised to go with me but said they would not interfere. This I consented to for I had discovered that Mr. Donaldson seemed distrustful of my influence, and I wished to have witness to my conduct.

After our mode of proceeding was adjusted, I requested Mr. Donaldson to give orders to his servants to pack up his clothes and to make a bustle, as if he was really going to embark in the morning, and Mr. Skjoldebrand promised to send a message to Bashara, who acted as agent for Ragusa, to request him to give orders to the captain who brought Donaldson here, to hold himself in readiness to depart

at a moment's warning. I then sent for the chief of the Pisqueras (Porters) and told him the Ambassador was going away in the morning, to send some of his people to carry his things on board, and then sent to the slave prison to inform our people that Mr. Donaldson would take care and forward any letters they might wish to send by him. My aim by these proceedings was that the Dey might hear, by a circuitous route which would not create suspicion, that Mr. Donaldson was going to embark and to do away the idea that he possessed unlimited powers, or had a carte blanche as the French Consul had induced him to believe, and it had the desired effect. Thus prepared, on Saturday, September 5th, 1795, at 7 a. m., I took Mr. Donaldson's proposals number four to the Dey, accompanied by Mr. Sloan and Micaiah. I informed him that the American Ambassador was ready to embark and would be at sea before twelve o'clock; that he had surpassed his limits in his last offer, but to avoid, as much as was in his power, the negotiation from being broken off he had added the whole extent of his fortune to the last proposal, and had sent it for the Dey's consideration. I read the proposals and he replied that the addition was trifling, and said that this morning the French Consul had again sent his Drogoman to inform him that the Ambassador had carte blanche. I desired Micaiah and Sloan to mark that assertion and informed the Dey that I had refuted that falsehood already, and I had thought to his Excellency's satisfaction; but at present further discussion was unnecessary from the fact that our Ambassador would be on

board in an hour if his Excellency rejected these proposals and would be a very disagreeable proof how much his Excellency had been imposed on, and that a regular complaint would be preferred against Mr. Valliere by our Ambassador at the Court of France. "I have abated two-thirds of my first demand," replied the Dey, "and if he cannot comply with my last proposals he may embark when he pleases." I then reminded his Excellency of his promise to let the prisoners be redeemed independent of peace which now seemed to be unattainable. The Dey affected to be in a great passion, said a great deal to little purpose, but came to no conclusions. I said that I was grieved beyond measure that our friendly offers were rejected; that we were a nation at a great distance from his which would take a year to write to and to receive letters from; that we had never been in arms against any Mussulman nation; but that now we would be obliged to arm in our own defense, and would necessarily become the enemies of those who had rejected our friendship. At this moment Sloan pulled me forcibly by the coat, in order to prevent me from saying any more until the Dey was in a better humor. The Dey observed it when I answered I came here to speak truth. I have been well treated by the Dey for a number of years, and no selfish consideration shall prevent me from endeavoring to prevent him being imposed on by the French Consul, or any of our enemies who under the cloak of friendship are equally his. America will never sue for peace again, but will arm in her own defence; but his Excellency

has promised to let the captives be redeemed, which I now implore from his clemency. We have been here more than ten years Effendi, let us go for the love of God. I then stooped to kiss the Dey's hand, which, contrary to my expectations, he held towards me, and seemed buried in thought, whether convinced that he had been imposed on by the French Consul or not, I don't know; but his aspect changed and after taking a pinch of snuff the Dey desired me to read over the proposals again to him, line by line, which I did and observed that as he said that I dictated the appropriations to the Ambassador, he would observe that his Excellency, at least, was liberally considered. That $240,000 were appropriated for the use of himself and family alone, and that in the aggregate $585,000 was a large sum, and $279,500 more than had been paid by the Dutch; and that even on the score of precedent the terms were advantageous to the Regency. "Yes," answered the Dey, "you know how to gabbar (cheat, decieve, persuade); should I now reject your terms and send your Ambassador away, your enemies would rejoice and you would become the laughing stock of all the Consuls and Franks in Algiers. Go and tell your Ambassador that I accept his terms, more to pique the British who are your inveterate enemies, and are on very bad terms with me, than in consideration of the sum which I esteem no more than a pinch of snuff," at the same time blowing one away which he held in his fingers; "but recollect that the annuity in stores, presents on the arrival of an Ambassador. Consular and bi-ennial presents are to be paid the

same as is paid by Holland and Sweden and Denmark." We answered that it was so understood, kissed the Dey's hand and paid him many compliments, probably with more sincerety than compliments are paid in general, and we went to give an account of the result to Mr. Donaldson, who being informed replied "Aye! (with an oath) he has agreed at last, has he?" I requested him to keep up the deception until he returned from the palace, lest some of our enemies should injure us, for notwithstanding the Dey's promise, peace was not perfectly established before our flag was displayed and saluted. The Pisqueras were kept in attendance as if really he was going to embark, and at 10 a. m. we were ready to attend Mr. Donaldson to the Palace to confirm the agreement.

CHAPTER XII.

But Micaiah, who remained in the Palace and who had not spoken one word to the Dey during the whole negotiation, now brought a note of the stores demanded by the Dey for peace the same as the Swedes had paid. This demand Skjoldebrand and all of us recommended Mr. Donaldson to reject at once, as the Swedes had not paid any cash to the treasury for peace, and as we had promised to pay $100,000 the Dey could not expect us to pay both in cash and stores. I went with Micaiah to the Dey and explained this article to him, when after some altercation he agreed that the stores should be valued, which was done by the Turkish secretary, and $60,000 was deducted from the $100,000 to be paid to the treasury, so that the stores contained in number five, which the Dey dictated from the note in Turkish, was valued as above, and $40,000 was to be placed in cash to the treasury. This Donaldson agreed to, but requested the gunpowder should be changed for other articles. I intimated that this was an improper time to higgle about trifles; that after our flag was saluted, and peace presents given, I would take upon myself to have this article changed for others as requested. Thus everything arranged at 11 a. m., Mr. Donaldson accompanied by Sloan,

Micaiah and myself waited on the Dey, when by Mr. Donaldson's request, I confirmed in the name of the United States, all the stipulations of the terms of peace as contained in numbers four and five, a copy of which, with the addition of the stores to be paid for the gunpowder, dated September the 8th, 1795, was transmitted to Col. Humphreys on the 11th of the month. Previous to going into the palace I had taken a silk jack that Mr. Donaldson had brought with him, and put it round my waist and after compliments presented it to the Dey, saying that as peace was established I hoped our flag would be saluted as soon as possible. The Dey said, "You seem determined that your flag should be hoisted to-day or you would not have brought it into the palace; go have it hoisted as usual on such occasions, I will not disappoint you." The Dey desired me to tell Mr. Donaldson that he might take his countrymen from work at the Marine, if he thought proper, but at the same time observed that he thought they had better remain, for if they were to get drunk and insult any of the Turks he would be obliged to punish them even against his will or they might turn Moors. Donaldson answered that he did not wish to take them from the Marine, but that he did not care if they all turned Moors. This last paragraph I refused to translate to the Dey, as I thought it very uncharitable and improper. The Dey then passed some enconiums on my conduct, said Donaldson might thank me for obtaining peace on such moderate terms, and desired him to write in my favor to our Ambassador at Lisbon, and our Prince (Presi-

dent he meant); but this being too delicate an affair for me to translate, I kissed the Dey's hand and left Sloan to interpret between them.

I went down to the Marine and at meridian a large American ensign was hoisted at the main—Mr. Donaldson's silk jack in the place of the flag of truce, which was hauled down, was hoisted at the fore and her own jack and ensign flying on board the Ragusan Brig that Mr. Donaldson came over in. Then peace was proclaimed and the American flag saluted with twenty-one guns, and thus in about forty-two hours after the arrival of Mr. Donaldson, peace was established between the Regency of Algiers and the United States of America, to the astonishment of every person in Algiers, friends as well as foes, by a lame old man who understood no language but his own, without funds or credit and surrounded with enemies.

From the Marine I went to Mr. Donaldson's house, congratulated him and dined with him (on my own dinner) and Mr. Skjoldebrand; and after dinner, although the Jews of Algiers are more strict in observing the ceremonies of their religion than they are in any other country, Micaiah and David his nephew were busy all day prepairing the peace presents, and did not go to the Synagogue until the evening. Such power has self interest over an Algerine Jew that it makes him forget his God, and break through all precepts both human and divine. In the evening Capt. O'Brien requested me to get permission from the Dey, for him to be sent to Col. Humphreys with the treaty and Mr. Donaldson's

dispatches. This request, I must confess, tried my fortitude as much as any thing I had ever experienced; for I was tired of the humiliating situation I had been so long in, and actually had intended to be the bearer of the treaty myself, if the Dey would permit me. I therefore hesitated a good while before I gave any answer. Capt. O'Brien understanding the cause of my embarrassment, interested my patriotism and pride in his favor. He said that the situation I was in gave me an opportunity of rendering very essential service to my country, especially as Mr. Donaldson was incapable to transact his own business; that by my resigning my post some person might be appointed who would be an enemy to our interests; and if any unfavorable event took place that as a patriotic citizen I would incur great censure; besides the Dey had promised me to use his influence with the Regency of Tunis in our favor, which probably he would not do was I to go away; that the sacrifice which was demanded of me would ever redound to my honor; and both O'Brien and Skjoldebrand declared that they would represent my conduct to Col. Humphreys and to our executive, in such a manner as would not fail to receive their thanks and approbation. Therefore, considering the duty I owed my country and the friendship that had existed between O'Brien and myself during a ten years captivity, I consented but I must own with some reluctance. On Sunday, Sept. 6th, I accompanied Mr. Donaldson to the palace and delivered our peace presents to the Dey. A great many of the presents were procured from the Dey

himself, especially the articles which were distributed to the officers of the third and fourth rank. These consisted of a large diamond ring and returned to himself which he had received while Hasnadar and Vikilharche of the Marine, and were of no use to him; he therefore got rid of them for cash, and the Jews charged them to the United States at their own price, and put a considerable sum of the money into their pockets. The audience lasted about twenty minutes. The Dey said he was an old man and recommended dispatch, which Donaldson promised so far as it lay in his power. Donaldson returned home and the Dey immediately sent him as a present a young German slave, called Joseph Koenigs, the same who was at his window when Aly Vikilharche sent to inform him of the death of his predecessor, and a fine Barbary stallion. I told him that it was customary to show respect to the Dey by giving the messenger a handsome present. "Give him a dollar," said he, "I have not any change." I told him he must have twenty at least, and that was not enough and I gave the man ten sequins. This Donaldson refused to pay me, saying he had desired me to pay one dollar which he offered to pay me which I rejected with disdain. I found that O'Brien had a great deal of the Jew in his composition, which I then did not know; had got Skjoldebrand to send his Drogoman and Micaiah to go in person to the Dey to obtain permission for him to carry the dispatches aforesaid; but the Dey refused them both, saying Mr. Sloan was a free man —that Mr. Donaldson might send him. In the

evening I asked the Dey's permission for O'Brien, and pointed out to him what great utility it would be to have a person on the spot who was acquainted with the quality of the stores which were wanted in Algiers, and he gave me permission at once, but I left O'Brien in suspense for some time as a punishment for his want of confidence and duplicity. As he supposed that I wished to carry the dispatches myself, he endeavored to supplant me by the agency of the Swedes and Jews. I likewise got four passports from the Dey to protect as many American vessels with our stores from capture by (all the Barbary States) including Morocco for one year. As Mr. Donaldson did not visit the Dey's Ministers in consequence of his being lame, I went in his name to deliver the presents, but few of them were at home.

The Dey likewise promised to change 500 barrels of gunpowder for other articles, as Mr. Donaldson had desired me to request; but I think he made a foolish bargain, for the freight of the stores out will amount to more than the difference. On the 7th of September, the Dey desired me to make out the note of the stores which are to be sent of the best quality. A great part of the peace presents were delivered today. This afternoon I received the treaty in Turkish from the Secretary of State, and with the translation in English which was made and written by me, and collated with the original in twenty-three articles, and the four passports before mentioned, I took to Mr. Donaldson. The Dey sent a present of no great value to Mr. Donaldson. In the evening, having business with the Dey, I reminded him of

his promise to use his influence with Tunis and Tripoli; he answered that he would send a courier to Tunis with letters to prepare the Bey for our reception, and that by the return of the vessel, which we were about to send with the treaty to Lisbon, he would have answers and that we might be assured that he would use his influence both with Tunis and Tripoli in our behalf, and would insure us an advantageous peace with both those Regencies. I thanked the Dey for his good will and assured him that the government of the United States would duly appreciate it.

Tuesday 8th of September. No business is done in the palace on Tuesdays. Mr. Donaldson received a present from Siddi Hamuda, one of the Dey's relatives, and the rest of the day we were employed delivering presents, which was finished the next day.

Wednesday 9th was busy with the Secretary of State, preparing a copy of the treaty to send to Col. Humphreys. Mr. Donaldson was preparing his dispatches, and Mr. Skjoldebrand chartered a Brig belonging to Signore Guillermo Fernasa to take O'Brien direct to Lisbon with Donaldson's dispatches, but some dispute arose, after the contract was signed, relative to primage which Donaldson said was not understood by him to be a part of the agreement, and the charter party was annulled, and O'Brien hired a Spanish boat to take him direct to Malaga, from whence he went over land to Lisbon, which cost four times as much as the difference for which Donaldson disputed, about $20, besides the risk of losing the treaty and dispatches. O'Brien however, arrived safe.

Thursday 10th, Donaldson finished his dispatches. The Dey sent an elegant attagan with a gold scabbard, and a silk sash embroidered with gold, to be presented to Col. Humphreys as a token of his respect.

Friday 11th at 10 a. m. By Capt. O'Brien's particular request I introduced him to the Dey. This is the first time that he had been in the palace since the day he landed, and the first time he ever spoke to the Dey—in the course of these negotiations will be seen my motive for noting this circumstance so particularly—he kissed the Dey's hands and feet (I did not like that humiliation). The Dey said he was an old man and recommended dispatch, saying that if he died his successor would not be so friendly to America as he had been, and may be would undo all that he had done, if the business was not concluded—and much he cared. He wanted the fee, but did not care a cent for the client. O'Brien promised, most faithfully, to use every exertion in his power to carry the treaty into effect and took his leave. The Dey sent him twenty dollars by me to purchase sea stores. Capt. O'Brien asked me, as a particular favor, to give him a rough sketch of the negotiation, which I complied with, and at meridian he received Mr. Donaldson's dispatches and took leave of Don Podagra. I accompanied him to Mr. Skjoldebrand's house. He took leave of the Consul who presented him with an elegant attagan as a token of his esteem. He went down to the Marine accompanied by Messrs. Skjoldebrand, Bogman, Sloan, Micaiah and family and myself. I went on

board with him, but not finding the boat's master on board, I desired the captain of the port to haul the boat out of the mole, and went to the Spanish Consul's house to look for the master and to hurry him on board. Some words took place between the Consul and myself, but the captain went on board and at 2 p. m. made sail, with the wind at the east, with O'Brien on board after having seen ten years, one month and twelve days in captivity. I went and dined with Mr. Donaldson, and we consider that our affairs are now settled, and that no alteration will take place until we hear from Col. Humphreys, provided no unnecessary delay is made. If the cash arrives, or as much of it as will pay for the ransom of our captives, the Dey will let them go. Had I power I could raise the whole of the money here, for bills upon London, Marseilles, or Leghorn; but Mr. Donaldson does not inspire sufficient confidence to induce me to run any farther risk, and he seems very ungrateful for the risk I have already run. He is, in fact, jealous and mistrustful and has not magnanimity of soul sufficient to be able to comprehend, that it is even possible for a man to run the risk of his life, without having any other motive than the good of his country and the self applause of an approving conscience.

I gave Capt. O'Brien ten Spanish doubloons ($160) of my own, to pay his expenses and to purchase some decent clothing and a packet for Col. Humphreys.

Here ends the account of our negotiation with Algiers, which produced our first treaty of peace

with that Regency, but the stipulations of that treaty are yet to be carried into execution, which will be a work of no small difficulty.

CHAPTER XIII.

A sketch of our relations with France, Spain and Great Britain from 1793 to 1796, which will in some measure account for their conduct towards us in the Barbary States.

In the preceding pages I have stated the relations which existed between the nations of Europe, and especially between France, Spain, Great Britain and the Regency of Algiers, from the peace of 1783 to the present time, by which will be seen their motives for opposing our interests in the Barbary States in general, and particularly in Algiers. The many attempts which had been made by agents, pretending to be authorized by the United States to effect peace and the ransom of our citizens in captivity, to whose acts no attention had been paid by our government, made impressions on the mind of the Dey and Ministers of Algiers extremely prejudicial to our cause and difficult to efface, which joined to the influence of those nations whose commercial interest was opposed to ours, would have rendered peace unattainable on any terms which would have been within our means for many years, consequently all those already in captivity would have remained there, or died in slavery; our commerce would have been at the mercy of Great Britain, whose influence

with Portugal was so great that the disaster of 1793 (the capture of ten vessels of the United States) would have been repeated at pleasure, and we were too well acquainted with the policy of that nation, to suppose that she would have scrupled to avail herself of a circumstance by which she could annoy us without risk, and at a very trifling expense; of which, the whole tenor of her conduct towards us from the peace of 1783, to the invidious truce made by her agency and under her guarantee in 1793, between Portugal and Algiers, is sufficient evidence. Had these obstacles not been removed by a person devoted to the interests of the United States, who from 1787 (two years after he was captured) to 1795 (the date of our first treaty) and afterwards had enjoyed the confidence of the Dey and chiefs of the Regency, the United States would have no other alternative but to abandon her commerce in unarmed vessels, and to have armed in her defense, which neither our relations with France or Great Britain, or our finances at that time, would have permitted. When the prelude to the negotiation which terminated in peace commenced by announcing the arrival of Col. Humphreys at Alicant, with power to negotiate peace with Algiers, a short time after the capture of ten of our vessels, and more than one hundred of our fellow citizens, in November, 1793, the Dey refused to receive him, as his cupidity was excited by his success and the expectation that he could effect an advantageous peace with Portugal, which would have left our commerce to the mercy of his Cruisers, or that by the influence of the

British he could at least have continued the truce, which would have insured to him the capture of a number of our citizens and their property. Disappointed in these hopes, not long afterwards he declared war against Holland, which continued until April, 1794, when he made an advantageous peace, which increased his avarice. In October following, permission was granted to Col. Humphreys to come to Algiers, to treat on terms of peace; but immediately on receiving premission he proceeded to the United States, and when in December following, the Dey was informed of his departure he concluded that the United States were trifling with him, as his predecessor had been trifled with by John Lamb in 1786, and others since. Those impressions, the situation I was then in, enabled me to remove and dispose him to give our Ambassador a favorable reception when he did arrive. The Dey's preamble to the opinion which he asked or rather dictated to the Divan to give on the 1st of July, 1795, originated with me. He never would have thought of such a ruse, if I had not insinuated to him that it would make the measure popular; and I had prepared some of the Ministers to coincide with his opinion from choice; for prior to the decision, those interested in the Cruisers and their adherents, including the soldiers and sailors with their officers, who composed the crews of the Cruisers, were heard to murmur very much and contended that a peace with Portugal, who solicited it by their agents, was more advantageous to the Regency than a peace with the United States, who had not a single vessel of war to

oppose them; that by having the whole Atlantic ocean open to the excursions of their Cruisers, they would derive a vast revenue by the sale of the prizes and the ransom of the captives of the United States, Prussia and the Hauseatic towns and others with whom they were at war, and whose commerce was equally defenseless, besides the emolument that would accrue to individuals. To combat that opinion, the Dey asserted that the maratine and military stores which the Regency would receive from the United States, would render them entirely independent of the northern nations (Denmark, Sweden and Holland) for those articles, and would leave no inducement to remain on amicable terms with them longer than it would be subservient to their interests; and that war might be carried on against one or other of those nations alternately, which would be much more lucrative than to continue the war with the United States, who, he alleged, would in all probability arm to protect their trade when they found their overtures for peace were rejected; that the northern nations were accustomed to tribute, and did not consider it degrading, as it was paid by the Chambers of Commerce of those nations, and not from the public treasury, and was viewed by them more as an equivalent given for a commercial privilege than a national humiliation; but that the Americans were sons of Englishmen whose manners, customs and mode of thinking were similar, which induced him to apprehend that if they lost this opportunity of adding another Christian power, and that of the new world, too, to the list of tributary

nations, that both the honor and the emolument would vanish, especially as he was informed by good authority, that the funds for carrying all treaties into effect, as well as for every expenditure came out of the Hasna (public treasury) and was national property, and must first receive the sanction of the grand Divan of the nation. Not even their Prince (President he meant) can expend a single sequin without first obtaining the consent of the Divan. Those sentiments, my situation as chief clerk or secretary to the Dey and Regency, enabled me to inculcate long before the arrival of any accredited agent of the United States at Algiers, and was the true cause of the Dey's reducing the terms of peace to less than one quarter of what he at first asked; and was of infinite service to us afterwards in suppressing the Dey's impatience, which was occasioned by the unavoidable detention of our funds for carrying the treaty into effect after it was made; and which occasioned the Dey to send me in the Polacca Independent, manned with Moors and navigated by myself, at my own sole expense, with his letter to the President of the United States, in May, 1796, accompanied by Mr. Barlow's dispatches to Alicant, Lisbon and the United States, which saved the peace of the nation; for eight months had elapsed since our treaty was signed without one single article of either cash or stores stipulated by treaty having arrived. Mr. Barlow had been here (at Algiers) about two months; a month after his arrival he sacrificed a frigate of thirty-six guns to obtain three months more time for the funds to arrive; although

I promised to obtain him a respite of six months for twenty thousand sequins, and to procure him the cash to pay it immediately for two per cent a month. But he concluded that it was better to promise a frigate which he had valued at $45,000; but which I assured him would cost one hundred thousand dollars at least to deliver her at Algiers; and in this he took the Jew's advice, and was deceived which he afterwards acknowledged; but by my going to the United States the Dey allowed nine months longer, which was sufficient time to fulfill all our engagements, and this cost the United States nothing whatever, not even my expenses were paid until many years after and then only in part.

When Mr. Donaldson's arrival at Alicant was announced, in August, 1795, the Dey was extremely mortified at the neglect with which he supposed he had been treated by the United States; nevertheless, I effaced all the impressions which existed unfavorable to his reception, and procured a passport for him to come to Algiers under the flag of the United States, sanctioned by a flag of truce which the Dey could not violate, had he been so disposed. This was considered a great favor, and was unprecedented in the annals of Algiers; and after his arrival he was enabled to agree on terms of peace in less than forty-eight hours, the treaty was made and written out for him without his either discussing or seeing it, until I presented it to him for his signature. Before his arrival the Dey had renewed the treaties between Algiers and Sweden, and Holland, and had received a considerable gratuity from each, as the price of

peace, and had taken several valuable vessels from the latter which had increased the Dey's avarice, and in some measure, warranted the expectation that our concessions would be in proportion to its importance to us; and having more than one hundred of our citizens in his hands, whom the British Consul induced him to believe must be redeemed at any price, he considered that he stood on very high ground, and such as would induce us to comply with his exorbitant demands. Denmark and Venice were in fear of a rupture, if peace was concluded with the United States, and consequently opposed it; and the court of Sweden, although inclined to be our friend, refused any agency in our affairs. The British and Spanish Consuls, the father administrator of the Spanish hospital, and Don Juan Garrigo, a Spanish merchant, were commissioned to conclude a peace for Portugal, provided it could be obtained on reasonable terms, and had power to offer $100,000 more than would be offered by the United States to supplant us. Overtures and offers were made to me by those gentlemen which would have rendered me independent for life—but which I refused with disdain—and the French Consul told the Dey to hold on, that Donaldson had carte blanche, and would make peace on any terms. It had been the policy of our government to rely on the interposition of France in our favor, but had she ever intended to have fulfilled the stipulations contained in the 8th article of our treaty with France of 6th of Feb., 1778, she had an opportunity offered her between the peace of 1783 and the capture of our

vessels in 1785; but in fact she never intended to render us any service whatever, and now ever since the conclusion of our treaty with England by John Jay, Esq. on the 19th of Nov., 1794, we were on the very worst terms with her which would prevent her using her influence (which at that time was of very little weight) in our favor, even if it had not been against her interest to have afforded the aid which had been so often promised, but notwithstanding the erroneous opinion which has prevailed, and does yet prevail, that we are under great obligations to France for her exertions in our favor when our first treaties were negotiated with the States of Barbary, I am prepared to prove the contrary, and that she used what little influence she had to oppose our interests; and that the relations were such between the two nations, at the time, that she could not do otherwise with any degree of propriety. During the mission of Governeur Morris, he had been charged to solicit the interposition of that government to favor our negotiations with the Barbary States; and power was delegated by him to a Mons. Chanmout, who lived in Switzerland and never came any nearer to Algers, and whose efforts probably produced the trifling attempt made by Parrett, which terminated in nothing except to induce the Dey to have a most contemptible opinion of us as a nation, and nearly to determine him not to receive any person to treat for peace on the part of the United States. After Mr. Monroe arrived he politely dismissed him, and he ought never to have been appointed. When Mr. Monroe arrived at Paris to supercede Mr. Morris

(Aug. 1794), great dissatisfaction existed in consequence of the convention believing that Mr. Jay had been sent to England with views unfriendly to France, and that Mr. Monroe's mission was adopted for the sole purpose of covering and supporting his to England; and that, on our part, we contemplated a close union with her and was consequently considered as an act of policy calculated to amaze and deceive. He was however received, on the 15th of August, much better than appearances gave him reason to expect, and in his dispatch to the Secretary of State of the 12th of February, 1795, Mr. Monroe says, "that he found our affairs in the worst possible situation." The treaty between the two republics violated, our commerce harrassed in every quarter and in every article, our seamen taken on board our vessels were often abused, generally imprisoned and treated in other respects like the subjects of the powers at war with them.

Our former Minister had not only been without the confidence of the government, but an object of particular jealousy and distrust, in addition to which it was suspected that we were about to abandon them for a connection with England, and for which purpose principally he had been sent there. As it was precisely at this time that our negotiations with the Barbary States commenced it certainly could not have been expected, nor will it be believed that France, under these impressions, would interpose her influence in our behalf, even if her influence had been as great as she represented it to be; but in the preceding pages it has been shown that she had

none whatever. The victories gained by her armies inspire no fear, as the Dey well knew that she was not in a situation to send a fleet to Algiers, and the influence of any nation in the Barbary States is of little avail unless inspired by fear or the hopes of gain. The progress of Jay's treaty which arrived in the United States in March, the intelligence that the British government had revived its orders for seizing provision vessels destined to France, at a time when Paris and great part of France were in the greatest distress for provisions; the arrival of gazettes containing copies of Jay's treaty which was openly and severely censured, for it appeared at a time calculated to produce the worst effects, viz: in August and September, 1795, was not the most favorable time to solicit the interference of France to promote our interest in any way—and at this moment peace was negotiated and concluded by my exertions as has been seen in the preceding pages—nor will it be believed that France, under the circumstances that followed, was ever inclined to favor our negotiations—indeed it would have been unreasonable to expect it.

In the middle of September, 1795, Mr. Monroe declared that we daily lost ground; the French government no longer confided in our amicable professions, and gave cause to apprehend serious consequences in case the treaty was ratified, which was only diminished by the opposition which the American people made to it; and as our treaty was concluded with Algiers on the 5th of this month, it would have been preposterous for us to have confid-

ed in the sincerity of France, or even to suppose that she would aid our negotiation with her influence, when the contrary was inspired by our own acts, and ought to have been expected. I might continue this inquiry for several pages, but as I have nothing in view but to substantiate the fact that our relations with France were such as to preclude the expectation that she would render us any assistance, while our negotiations were pending, and that she had not the power even if she had the will, I will only think it necessary to prove that no alteration took place to render her more propitious to our cause, until our negotiations were finally concluded with all the Barbary States, and likewise to prove beyond all doubt that so far from rendering us the assistance stipulated by the 8th article of our treaty of alliance with France, of 1778, she opposed our interests on every occasion in consequence of what they called our attachment to British interests.

About the beginning of October Mr. Monroe, accompanied by Mr. Purviance, not knowing that peace had been established with Algiers, had a conference with Jean Debry, a member of the committee of salut public and charged with the department of American affairs, for the purpose of engaging the good offices of the French government in aid of our negotiations with Algiers. Application had likewise been made some time before to the committee (July 5th), and Mr. Monroe, in his communication of the the 1st of August following, says "I have the pleasure to inform you that the full support of this government will be given in our negotiation with Algiers."

But that aid never had been given, for if it had the present application would have been rendered as superfluous by that act, as it now was by peace being concluded a month before the application was made. These were the only official requests that were made since the departure of Mr. Morris, from which nothing favorable resulted; and considering the unpromising aspect of our relations with France at that period, it needs strong faith to believe that any were ever intended when the promise was made. Be that as it may, our negotiations were carried on without her aid. We relied, as we ought always to rely, on the strength of our own resources and it is some consolation to a patriotic mind to know that peace was concluded with Algiers independent of the influence of France, or any other nation on earth, and that we are relieved from the weight of the obligation. It is worthy of remark that at the same conference the conversation digressing from the above topic turned on the treaty concluded between the United States and England, a copy of which with the news of its ratification by the senate, accompanied by certain comments or strictures thereon by a French citizen, Jean Debry, said "had just been received by the committee and he hinted at the dissatisfaction excited by the treaty in the mind of the government." Will the most credulous believe that France, at this period, meant to promote our interests in any way when she supposed, and with good reason too, that we had abandoned hers, more especially as our obtaining a free trade in the Mediterranean would interfere with her commercial interests, and in the

Chamber of Commerce of Marseilles we had a most powerful adversary.

The 27th of October the national convention was dissolved, and the Directoire assumed the reins of government, and about the same time Fanchet arrived in France with all his prejudices about him, extremely dissatisfied with the treaty which certainly was not favorable to our interests.

In January, 1796, Mr. Randolph's pamphlet was received in Paris which contained documents by no means respectful to the government of France, and the friends of the French revolution, in the United States, were reproached with being the friends of war and confusion. Shortly afterwards the President's address to congress upon the opening of the session was received, which in treating of the flourishing situation of the United States contrasted it with the miserable, famished and disorganized state of other powers; much, too, was said in that address of the advantages of our accommodation with Great Britain, as likewise of the favorable disposition of that power towards us, without the slightest attention being shown to the French Republic, unless indeed it was referred to in the picture of distress noticed, as was inferred by the French government of that epoch.

In June, 1796, intelligence was received that the house of representatives of the United States, had agreed to carry the treaty into effect, which did away with the few favorable impressions which remained, in consequence of the opposition which had been made to it by the people; and surely

our measures at that time did neither command the respect, nor conciliate the esteem of the French Republic. What reason then had we to expect her favorable interposition at this juncture or indeed at any time since our negotiation with the Barbary States commenced. It betrayed on our part a spirit bordering on presumption or the most abject meanness to solicit it. Nevertheless on the 30th of August, Mr. Monroe received a communication from the Minister of External Relations, stating that a truce was obtained by our agent from the Regency of Tunis and Tripoli, and with the aid of France. The dispatch of Herculais is dated Algiers, July 12, 1796, about the same time that he declared to Mr. Barlow that it was his duty as a French citizen to oppose the interests of the United States, on account of what he called the attachment of our government to the British interest. (See Barlow's letter to the Secretary of State of the 17th of August, 1797.) Does there require any further proof that France had been playing a false role with us all along? I think not. The fact is I procured a truce with Tunis for eight months on the 8th of November, 1795, by the interposition of the Dey of Algiers; and Capt. O'Brien in the Sophia was captured by a Cruiser of Tripoli, and carried to that place in September, 1796; consequently no truce had taken place at that time, and the French consul, Guise, congratulated the Bashaw on the event and endeavored to induce the Bashaw to condemn the vessel and the money which was on board for the ransom of our captives at Algiers; but did not suc-

ceed in consequence of the protection afforded to the Sophia by the Dey's passport, which was one of the four which I had procured from the Dey when I left Algiers in May, 1796; and as the Sophia and her crew were liberated, besides cash to the amount of $220,000 which was on board, in consequence of this passport, it is not unfair to state that the United States was benefitted by this transaction at least $250,000, besides the consequences which would have attended the loss, for without this money or until another sum equivalent to it arrived at Algiers, our people would not have been enlarged. In consequence of this capture a correspondence took place between the Bashaw of Tripoli and the Dey of Algiers; a cessation of hostilities was agreed on, and on the 4th of November following a treaty of peace and amity was concluded between the United States and the Regency of Tripoli. But the directory finding that we had succeeded in obtaining our object at Tunis, as we had before done at Algiers, not only without the aid of France but contrary to the influence which she opposed to our interest which she very much overrated, wished to induce our government and the world to believe, that notwithstanding the many causes she had to complain of us, nevertheless she had invariably been our friend and was well disposed towards us; and thus added fuel to the flame which raged all over our continent, fanned by the party spirit of the times.

The only agency which Herculais had in our affairs was to reccommend Fannin to Mr. Barlow, who was a very improper person to be employed by

the United States to negotiate a treaty for us. He caused all the embarrassments which we experienced afterwards, and Herculais himself acknowledged him to be a traitor. In fact it was the duty of Mr. Barlow, after he had promised the frigate to the Dey of Algiers, to have gone to Tunis himself and not trusted to a creature of the Bey, by whom our interests were sacrificed and after the Dey promised to wait for the funds, he had nothing to do at Algiers until they arrived, and in the intermediate time he might have negotiated a treaty with Tunis, which would have saved us an infinitude of trouble and expense.

Believing that I have substantiated all I promised I might here conclude, but as some circumstances occurred after the appointment of Mr. Humphreys, which might tend to distract the judgment and lead to diversity of opinion, I will here record them. Col. Humphreys was appointed Commissioner Plenipotentiary, on the part of the United States, with full power to negotiate and conclude treaties with all the Barbary States and with Algiers on the 21st of March, 1793. But he did not make any attempt to come to Algiers until eight months afterwards, on the 11th of November following, immediately after the capture of ten sail of our vessels by which more than one hundred of our fellow citizens were enslaved, in consequence of the insiduous truce concluded between Portugal and Algiers, by the agency and under the guarantee of Great Britain. Had he arrived before that truce was concluded, (and why he did not I presume he has accounted

for to the government) our vessels would not have been captured nor our citizens enslaved, and peace might have been obtained on terms comparatively low and moderate. But the time when he did apply being very unfavorable, he was refused permission to come to Algiers, and we heard no more about him until the 7th of October, 1794, when after a great deal of trouble and some address the Dey promised to receive him; but on receiving the Dey's permission, in lieu of coming direct to Algiers as was expected, he departed for America by which the Dey concluded that the United States was trifling with him and had well nigh countermanded his orders. On the 7th of November, Mr. Monroe said that in respect to the business with Algiers, that he had not acted, and assigns his reasons why, and that he had written to a Mr. Chaumont, a gentleman in Switzerland, informing him that the negotiation with Algiers was committed to Col. Humphreys, and was meant by him as a respectful discharge. Mr. Chaumont, it seems, was commissioned by Mr. Morris and from whom probably emanated Parrett's negotiation which did us no good. On the 11th of November Mr. Monroe informed Col. Humphreys that the Secretary of State had communicated to him that the power to treat with the Regency of Algiers was committed to him; but that he thought it would be useless and improper to occupy the councils of the Republic on the subject, until he knew the state of the business of which he requested information; and in his letter to the Secretary of State of February 1, 1795, he said he was informed that

Col. Humphreys had sailed from Lisbon for Algiers; that he was left in ignorance equally of his wishes, the time of his departure and plan of operation; that he had been fearful from the embarrassments inseparable from the war and other circumstances, that it would be difficult to concert any plan of operation, and that under present circumstances it had become altogether impossible.

The Secretary of State under date of the 8th of March, informs Mr. Monroe that Col. Humphreys was in Philadelphia when he supposed him to be in Algiers, and Mr. Monroe in answer said (17th of May) "that his last letter gave him the first intelligence that I could rely on, that Col. Humphreys was in America," who of course would return fully possessed of his views with respect to the piratical powers on the African coast. He further adds, "I assured you long since that it would be easy to obtain from this government its aid upon that point, and it is certain that its aid with each and especially with Algiers, with which Regency the Republic is in the strictest amity, would be of good effect. Those powers know that France is at war against Austria, Spain, England, Portugal, etc., and defeats them all, and in consequence conclude that she is more powerful than all united and respect her accordingly. I have frequently been told in private conversation by the members of the committee, that they were ready to render us all the service in their power in that respect." These were the opinions inculcated by the French government—but view the true state of the case. France had been insulted and plundered

by Algiers more than once, and that very lately, with whom no nation has any influence but what is inspired by fear or the hope of gain. Those powers know that France is engaged in a war which employs all her force and exhausts all her resources, and that the British keep their vessels of war in their ports, and that consequently there can not be a better time to commit depredations on her commerce. As long as France had any commerce Algiers plundered it, but her want of commerce now prevents Algiers from insulting the French flag—because she could not reap no adequate advantage by it—and not the dread of her arms; and we have sufficient evidence to prove that notwithstanding the promises which were made to our Minister by the government of France, it never was their intention to realize them, and had we relied upon her aid we would have incurred great expense to no purpose, and would ultimately have failed and been laughed at for our credulity. In the letter of the Secretary of State to Mr. Monroe of the 15th of February, 1795, which he received after the letter of the 8th of March, he says: "Col. Humphreys, our Minister for Lisbon, being disappointed in the loan which was to be paid for the relief of our captive brethern in Algiers, has come over to press the subject. He will return in a few days full handed, and although we have heard nothing of late concerning the friendly interposition of France with the Dey, we beg that the influence of our ally may be exerted in this great cause of humanity." And in another of the 2d of May, he says: "Col. Humphreys sailed six weeks ago

(middle of March) properly charged for the negotiation with Algiers. Before this reaches you, he will probably have had a personal interview with you, and will satisfy you that on this and on every other occasion, we wish to observe delicacy towards our friends and allies."

Col. Humphreys arrived at Gibraltar from the United States on the 17th of May. His letter to us of the 18th we received on the 16th of June, and immediately after he wrote it he set off for France, still in pursuit of the *ignis fatuus*—french influence—which was never found, and happy was it for us that it was not. On the 5th of July, Mr. Monroe presented a paper to the committee of public safety, opening as far as was expedient the object of Col. Humphreys' visit to France; and on the 1st of August, he communicates to the Secretary of State, "that he has the pleasure to inform him that the full aid of that government would be given in support of our negotiation with Algiers;" but it never was given, nevertheless. And as this was the first official communication that had been made to the French government, since the departure of Mr. G. Morris, it could not have availed us anything even had that government been sincere, for our treaty was signed on the 5th of September following. On the 1st of September Mr. Monroe communicates to the commissary of foreign relation that a Mr. Benjamin Hitchborn was appointed with full power to negotiate with Algiers, etc., and only waited for his instructions to their agent at Algiers, and requested passports for four persons. Mr. Hitchborn declined

and Mr. Barlow was appointed in his stead and accepted, so that it was not for his talents that he was appointed, and it was not for his services I am sure, and he was only the second on the list of promotion—that he had talents there is no doubt, but they did not suit the meridian of Barbary as will be seen hereafter.

On the 3rd of October, Mr. Monroe informed Col. Humphreys that he had heard that peace had been made with Algiers without the aid of France; for I dispise the idea of laying us under any obligation to the French Consul Valliere; that Herculais had not written on the subject (How could he when he did not go to Algiers for several months after our treaty was signed?) and that the only instructions here to present to him, were to use the influence of the Republic with the Dey, to obtain a suspension of hostility on his part against the United States. This was *vox et pretera nihil*, for the admission of an Ambassador in any of the Barbary States, implies a cessation of hostility until he leaves the country, and were five hundred prizes to be captured while the negotiation was pending, they would all be released by the Dey; but probably no indemnification would be received for what would be plundered from individuals by the crews of the Cruisers, but even this assertion does not tally with the declaration of Herculais to Mr. Barlow, contained in the latter's letter to the Secretary of State before referred to. In Mr. Monroe's letter to the Secretary of State of the 4th of October he says: "In furtherance of the object I was promised by the

company with a list of such presents as would be suitable for Algiers, a literal copy of what they had last presented with a specification of what suited the Dey, and his ministry in particular." If the commissary presented a list of the articles which were brought to Mr. Barlow, he deceived him. They were calculated for the Grand Seigniors Seraglio, but not for the Regency of Algiers, especially the Turkish ladies' dresses, which cost in Paris 41,462 livres, were never of any use at all, and I saw remnants of them in the Consul's house in Algiers, when I was on my way to Tunis and Tripoli in 1799, and a cup and vase of jade (mineral) which cost 2,400 livres in Paris, was returned to Mr. Barlow by the Dey, who said he did not want such costly utensils, and they were sent to the Bey of Tunis in 1799. The greatest part of the articles were sent to Tunis and Tripoli because they were too valuable to be given to the third and fourth class, and not valuable enough to be presented to the first and second class and about the value of 50,000 livres, consisting of ladies' dresses, tortoise snuff boxes, etc., were entirely thrown away and answered no purpose whatever; and those things which did answer, were valued much higher than the same sort of articles could be procured from the Jews at Algiers; besides many months prior to this period, I had forwarded to Montgomery to send to Col. Humphreys a list of the Consular presents sent by the doner to the Algerines in 1792 and 1794, and there was no necessity of our laying ourselves under any obligation to the government of France at all, either to procure the list or

the articles themselves. At length Mr. Joseph Barlow left Paris and after various peregrinations for what purpose no body here knows, he arrived in the bay of Algiers on the 4th of March, 1796, and on the next day landed, precisely six months after our treaty had been signed with Algiers, and four months after a truce had been made with Tunis; yet by a most unjust partiality, all the services which I had rendered before he was ever thought of as an agent, have been erroneously attributed to him by those who have been appointed by the people to dispense the public gratitude, but without cause as will be seen in the sequel. The opposition which we met with from the agents of Spain, may be attributed to the unsettled state of our affairs with that power in relation to our boundary and the free navigation of the Mississippi and likewise to her jealousy of our increasing wealth and population, as well as the solicitude which she felt to promote the interest of her friend and ally, the Queen of Portugal, in preference to the United States, whose religion and form of government she detested, and saw in prospective the effect the latter would ultimately have to hasten the emancipation of her own colonies. I may therefore be permitted to say that the task I performed, surrounded by the difficulties which then existed, was an arduous one, when it is considered that our present happy constitution had not had time to shed its benign influence over our pecuniary affairs; that we had not got over the derangements occasioned by an Indian war and an insurrection in the western country; that party raged with as much

inveteracy as it did during the revolutionary war; and that our treasuary was empty, and we had not even a gun boat afloat to protect our commerce, which, exclusive of having more than one hundred citizens in slavery; and I thank God that He used me a captive under a despot, who many times have risked my life for the enslaved and the welfare of my country, to assist in removing every obstacle in the way of the pacification of the Barbary States.

CHAPTER XIV.

Continuation of our negotiations with the Barbary States and especially with Algiers, from the departure of Capt. Richard O'Brien with our treaty of peace with Algiers, on the 11th of September, 1795, to my arrival at Philadelphia in the Independent on the 12th of September, 1796, via Alicant and Lisbon, with dispatches and a letter from the Dey to the President of the United States.

I have already stated that Mr. Donaldson arrived at Algiers on the 3d; that I made the treaty and took it to Mr. Donaldson for his signiture on the 7th; and that O'Brien sailed with it on the 11th of September, 1795; and on the 13th Mr. Donaldson retired to the Swedish Consul's country seat four miles from the city, leaving us in anxious expectation for the arrival of the funds, as he had assured us that Col. Humphreys had informed him that they were ready to embark a great part of them at Lisbon. This in a great measure increased the Dey's impatience, for the Jews led him to believe that our money transactions would be finally settled in two or three months at farthest, and had the funds arrived as the Dey expected, it would have prevented all the trouble, anxiety and enormous expense which occured afterwards, which at least doubled the original price

promised for peace and the ransom of our brethren in captivity. Mr. Donaldson before he left town, locked up the house, told my servants whom I had sent to attend him that their services would in future be dispensed with, and told me that he did not know why so expensive a table had been kept; that a great deal less would have served him; that he supposed it was intended to make a speculation out of him; but that they would find themselves mistaken. I told him may be not; that it would be time enough for him to complain when the account came in; and that his countrymen would be very much mortified to see their Ambassador live in a worse style than the Consuls of the Northern Nations. The fact is, I supplied his table from my own stores, and his dinner was cooked every day at my own tavern and taken to his house, and his breakfast and supper were prepared at his house by my servants, and he never was charged a cent for either the one or the other. Donaldson, when he went out of town, neglected to leave the treaty of peace with me to have two more copies made out, I having requested that four copies might be made out when peace took place—one to be sent to the Secretary of State, one to Col. Humphreys, one to remain in the Consulate, and one in the palace; but this last had not been returned after receiving Donaldson's signiture, consequently, Osman Hodga, Secretary of State, could not make out the other two copies; therefore on the 21st inst., I wrote a note to Mr. Donaldson requesting him to send me the treaty to which I received the following answer:

SIR:—I have your note relative to the secretary and shall be in town tomorrow, when the needful shall be done. It is from no neglect of mine as you well know, I importuned you to procure the copies, that they might be executed ere I left town. Yours,

Monday, Sep. 21, 1795. DONALDSON, JR.

On the 22nd he came to town and gave me the treaty, and desired me to bring the same copy back again, as he had made some notes in it, and not to write the other copies out in English, as he wished to write them himself. This copy was the original treaty which was in my hand writing—the other three copies were copied from that by Mr. Donaldson. He seemed displeased at being disturbed and more so when he found it was near dinner time and had nothing to eat, for he enjoyed the good things of this world as much as any person could do. This evil, however, I remedied by ordering my dinner to be brought to his house and we dined *tete a tete*, and after dinner he seemed better pleased, shook me by the hand and said, "he hoped we should dine together at the fishing club on the Schuykill, of which he was a member, before another year had expired," and went to the Consul's country seat again.

On the 28th he came to town and asked me for the treaty. The copies had not been done in consequence of the soldiers receiving their pay in the palace, nor would not until they were all paid, which would be in four or five days. Mr. Donaldson was very angry and said he wanted to have his business done; that he was not obliged to wait their motions. I answered that he most certainly would, for the Dey and Secretary of State would not wait his. He left

me in dudgeon and went out of town again; but being afraid that he might say something before the Jews' or Swedish Drogoman which would displease the government, if they heard it, I requested the Secretary of State to finish the copies in Turkish as soon as possible, and he took them to his own house and gave them to me finished and sealed on Thursday, October 1, 1795, and the next day, Friday, no business being done in the palace I went to dine with Mr. Skjoldebrand, and took the copies with me. When I gave them to Mr. Donaldson he complimented me by saying "What, you have got them at last have you?"

On the 6th we received letters from Mr. Ettiene Cathalan, informing us that the news of peace had arrived at Paris and all the ports of France, and on the 10th a Spanish brig freighted by Montgomery at Alicant arrived, in order to procure a permit to load wheat. She had a Mr. Hugh Boyd on board as supercargo and was consigned to Mr. Donaldson. The Dey desired me to take him to Mr. Donaldson, and to ask him what was his business, but to save myself the trouble of going out of town with him, I informed his Excellency that he was Montgomery's secretary and had brought letters for our Ambassador.

Mr. Donaldson has received information that O'Brien arrived at Malaga on the 17th, landed on the 19th, and set of for Lisbon on the 20th ult., so that in twenty-five days after Donaldson's landing in Algiers the treaty would be in Lisbon for the inspection of Col. Humphreys.

On the 11th I announced Capt. O'Brien's arrival at Malaga to the Dey, who was well pleased. Mr. Donaldson desired me to ask the Dey for a permit to load wheat. I told him that the request was premature, and that he would get the same answer that George Smith received some time ago; that any business that would benefit my country I would transact with pleasure, but that his private business he had much better transact himself. He said that I was very unaccomodating lately. I told him not one tenth part as much as he was; that I thought it useless and degrading to ask any favor when I was certain that it would not be granted. He said that he had committed himself to Montgomery, and that he requested me to make the trial, which, if even refused, would exonerate him from his promise. I acquiesced, but told him it should be the only time that I would interfere in his privete concerns. The Dey answered as I had predicted, was very angry and said "settle the affairs of your nation first, and then it will be time enough to talk about commercial affairs. Tell him we have no wheat to spare, when we have any we will let him have it." Mr. Boyd brought me two letters from Mr. Montgomery and informed me that the vessel was to be loaded on joint account of Montgomery and Donaldson, and on the 18th she sailed bound to Oran, having made a contract with the Baccries for a cargo of grain, the particulars of which I am not informed. Mr. Boyd informed me that there were several Americans in the Mediterranean. I therefore wrote a circular to our Consuls on the north side of the

Mediterranean, informing them of the unsettled state of our affairs and the risk of capture by Cruisers of Tunis and Tripoli, and recommending them to discourage our vessels by every means in their power from coming into the Mediterranean, until treaties were coucluded with Tunis and Tripoli.

On Tuesday the 13th of October, Mr. Donaldson proposed paying his first visit to the Grandees, the Dey's ministers, being prevented, as he said, by the gout until now. Mr. Skjoldebrand sent for me to accompany him, as a thing of course, and as he had no money I loaned him one hundred sequins, in half sequins, to distribute in the great men's houses, telling him that it was customary to give from ten to twelve sequins in each house. Mr. Donaldson took the money and then told Mr. Sloan to get his head dress (hat) and come with him, and when we approached the Prime Minister's house he turned short round and said "that one interpreter was enough." I wished him good evening and said that if I had not been sent for I would not have intruded. When I mentioned this, the same evening, to Mr. Skjoldebrand he said it was just like him, that he wondered that Col. Humphreys should have sent a person to Algiers so wholly unqualified for the business he was sent on; that he hardly thought such another original could be found in the United States.

On Monday the 19th, having business with the Aga or Generalisimo, I found that he was much displeased with Mr. Donaldson, as it seems that he had paid him particular attention at his visit, and in return he had given his servants only four sequins.

These people calculate that the more you respect and esteem them, the greater will be your present to their people, and this is an established custom. Now a present of four sequins was tantamount to having said you are a little fellow, have no influence, can do me neither good nor harm; therefore four sequins is enough for your servants. The Aga said that Bobba (Father) Hassan was the friend of America and that was sufficient; that he and the other Ministers were of no importance in our estimation and added, with a sardonic grin, that Bobba Hassan was an old man—meaning that he would not live forever. Mr. Donaldson has acted very injudiciously in not following the established custom, and truly he has offended all those who have the power either to be of service or to injure him. Some of those Grandees most probably will become Dey hereafter, and will certainly revenge any insult they suppose they may have received when in an inferior station; for a Turk never forgives an injury, and one hundred sequins well applied now, would probably save the nation as many thousand at some future period; besides our affairs are not settled yet by a great deal. There is no knowing what difficulties we may yet have to surmount, or how necessary it may be to cultivate the good will of those people, and although we ought not to permit ourselves to be imposed on, neither should we infringe an established custom complied with by all nations under similar circumstances, especially when the expense is of no importance whatever and would not have amounted to one hundred dollars. There are times when saving money is not economy, and this is one of them.

Messrs. Skjoldebrand had intended to reduce the number of their vessels for some time, and had offered to sell me a fine brig they had in port with a freight of 2,800 on board bound to Smyrna, on very reasonable terms. The Dey had promised to send the Pilgrims to Alexandria in her on their way to Mecca, and give me a passport for all the Ottoman Empire including Tunis and Tripoli, and letters to the Bey of Tunis and Bashaw of Tripoli, which would have opened a correspondence with those chiefs relative to peace, but he refused to let me go in the vessel myself, but promised to let me have one of the American captains to command her. In this stage of the business I wrote a note to Mr. Donaldson on Friday, the 23 inst., requesting him to give me an instrument to prove that the said vessel belonged to a citizen of the United States—to which I received a refusal, which I answered. Mr. Skjoldebrand went out of town and told Mr. Donaldson "that he had acted a most ungenerous part to thwart their intentions of being of service to Mr. Cathcart, who had rendered both him and his country such signal services; that he never would have obtained peace on the favorable terms on which it was concluded, had it not been for my exertions for years prior to his appointment; and for which I had received nothing but insult, and more especially as he had promised in his presence to grant Mr. Bailey a similar request a few days before, when he was about to purchase a Venitian prize laying in the mole." Mr. Donaldson denied having made such a promise, and without taking leave came to town on foot, not-

withstanding the Consul sent a servant with a horse after him which he refused to mount. The truth was now at issue between him and Mr. Skjoldebrand. Mr. Bailey was called who confirmed the circumstance and mentioned others that were present. Donaldson said he must have forgotten it but if he had promised him, he had no objection to grant me the same favor. I answered that as a favor I did not wish it; that I had determined not to have anything to do with the vessel, even could I obtain her gratis —and thus was our Ambassador detected in a falsehood before the Swedish Consul and his own countrymen.

On the 24th I called on Mr. Skjoldebrand and found him very much displeased with Donaldson for having left his garden so abruptly. He said that if he came to his house again he would receive him politely, but if he did not he would not visit him. But Donaldson went the same day to dine with him *sans ceremonie*, as if nothing improper had happened. The same day his Excellency, the Dey, said that he would fulfill his promise, and dictated the following terms on which peace might be made with Tunis and desired me to take them to Mr. Donaldson, and if he agreed to them we might conclude that our peace was made. I met Donaldson at the Swedish Consul's house. He valued the articles as stated in the terms, but said that he could not make any arrangement with Tunis, as he had no orders on the subject from Col. Humphreys. I went to the Dey and informed him that Mr. Donaldson was waiting orders on the subject, and requested him to consider

the negotiation open, and to write to the Bey of Tunis to abstain from acts of hostility until answers arrived from Lisbon, and at the same time informed him that it was my opinion that the United States would not give more than $50,000 for peace including a present of stores; and that they would never pay any tribute to Tunis or Tripoli; that they would sooner arm to protect their commerce, and requested the Dey when he wrote to the Bey to do away the impression that we would become tributary, if any such existed. The Dey said that he had proposed the terms with a view to our interest; that he would write to the Bey on the subject and would do all the good he could without committing himself, for said he "I am a Musselman." I continued my conversation with the Dey. The particulars I communicated to Mr. Humphreys under this date.

Tuesday 27th, I was directed to obtain letters of introduction for the son of Ibraim Raise, and others in his company, directed to our Ministers and agents at Marseilles, Paris, and the Hague, and to specify therein that the Dey would become responsible for all his acts, drawing of bills of exchange, freighting of vessels, etc., and had great trouble to persuade him to do it, and was obliged to state to him in very plain terms, the absurdity as well as the evil tendency of refusing them. "You are in debt," said I, "nearly $600,000 on the payment of which the peace of your countrymen depends. The person to whom you are in debt asks you for simple letters of introduction for one of his subjects which you refuse to give, when it would be to the interest of the United

States, was he to receive the whole sum in Paris; but the Dey does not ask you to give him a credit on our Ministers or agents, but only to say that he, the Dey, has given him the power to draw, and that his bills will be paid." At length he wrote the letters, and I took them to the Dey near sunset. In fact this same Ambassador of ours possesses a spirit of contradiction and obstinacy that I never knew equalled, and I am afraid will ruin our affairs if the funds do not arrive very soon.

Wednesday 28th, Messrs. Skjoldebrand and Baccri advised Mr. Donaldson to make a voluntary present to Hadgi Ally, Ambassador from Tunis, as he had great influence at his Court and would espouse our cause when our negotiations commenced with that Regency. This personage was Vikil of Algiers at Tunis, but now came with the tribute of oil paid annually by that Regency to Algiers. He arrived here in a Venitian vessel on the 24th inst. Mr. Donaldson requested me to accompany him, and after opening our business and securing his promise to befriend us all that lay in his power, we made him a peace offering valued by Baccri at 925 sequins. On the 29th Mr. Skjoldebrand and myself advised Mr. Donaldson to apply for a truce with Tunis, to which he consented provided it was not attended with any expense, and said he would leave the management of that affair entirely to me, and went out of town. The 30th Mr. Donaldson came to town to receive his letters which had come in the Spanish packet. They contained no good news or we should have heard it, and the same day the Dey

sent for me and said that he had received letters from the Prime Minister of Portugal, only sixteen or eighteen days old inclosed to Don Juan Garrigo, stating that the particulars of the American peace and ransom had reached Lisbon through him via Ivica, dated the 8th ult. and that Portugal solicted a peace on the same terms. Now Don Juan Garrigo could have obtained his information from no other source than the Baccries, which is proof what little confidence can be placed in those Jews, who would betray the secrets of any nation to whoever would pay them for their treachery. Don Juan had a long conference with the Dey, and read the letters himself which deprived me of knowing all their contents; but the Dey showed me the seal of the letter, and said that if he did not prefer the annuity of America he had another resource and he had it at his option to prefer which he pleased. I returned him thanks for the preference, and the Dey having enjoined secrecy, which no doubt he had promised himself to Don Juan, I retired and believing that the intelligence would be of much use to Mr. Donaldson, I informed him of it; he exclaimed that it was impossible and said with an oath, that he could not believe it. I told him that he might do as he pleased in that respect; that I had no interest in bringing him any information that I had not received, and was quite unhappy at invention, and requested him to keep the intelligence secret whether he gave it credence or not, when this Mohawk Ambassador answered "if you cannot keep your own secrets how can you suppose that I can

keep them for you?" The Skjoldbrands were astonished but advised me to take no notice of the observation, as it seemed to proceed more from ignorance and petulancy than malice or a bad heart. On the 31st the Dey sent for me and desired me to make out a list of the Portugese in slavery—which I did—and at the same time took the liberty to inform him that we supposed our funds were in Portugal; that if his Excellency meant to enter into any negotiations with that power before our affairs would be settled, that it would retard them very much, and policy would dictate to that Court to place impediments in the way of procuring the money or of shipping it after it was procured, in order to give them an opportunity to settle their own affairs first. The Dey replied "the answer I have sent Don Juan Garrigo, to send relative to peace, I am sure they will not like, but if they wish to ransom their slaves I have no objection." I took this opportunity to inform the Dey that we had given presents to Hadgi Ally, and requested his Excellency to procure a truce for us with Tunis. He said he had spoken to Hadgi Ally already, who had promised that if any American vessel was captured by any of the Cruisers of Tunis, that he would use his influence to have her restored; that he would speak to him again and procure a truce, for it was not reasonable for him to expect presents for nothing. Sunday, November 1st, Donaldson came to town and was taken very ill with the bilious colic, which was succeeded by the gout which kept him confined for a month.

Sunday 8th, between those dates I had several conferences with the Dey and Hadgi Ally, and this day procured a truce for the United States with Tunis for eight months, guaranteed by the Dey of Algiers, translated it and took the original to Mr. Donaldson, who kept his bed with the gout and colic.

20th, Donaldson still confined. The American mates and sailors laid siege to his chamber and insisted on his procuring them leave to stay in town, as they said that they had as much right to be exempt from hard labor as the masters—and I think they had full as much. Donaldson told them that he could do nothing for them at present, to go to their quarters and have patience a little longer, and they would be redeemed. They cursed him for an old hickory face, etc., and hoped that he would be brought up standing before another month and left him. I wrote to Col. Humphreys and informed him of the truce with Tunis which took place on the 8th inst., but did not send a copy of the truce as Mr. Donaldson had not returned the original translation.

December. This month very little alteration took place in our affairs, except that the Dey's impatience increased daily. Every time I had any business with him he vented his spleen on me. He said that three months was time enough for money to arrive from Lisbon; that by my persuasion he had listened to the old Tupal (lame) Ambassador, and was prevented from concluding an advantageous peace with Portugal; that I had deceived him and that his people were discontented and his patience was nearly exhausted.

On the 17th I received answers to several of the circulars which I had sent to our Consuls in Europe, one from our Consul at Leghorn being a prototype of the others. Mr. Donaldson was either confined by bad health to his chamber or when well enough was at the Swedish Consul's country seat, I had not only to bear the reproaches of the Dey but likewise of our own people, who accused me for not getting leave for them to remain in the city exempt from labor. This I at first could have done with ease, but now it was impossible, for the Dey had frequently threatened to send the masters to hard labor if the funds did not arrive very soon, and when leave could have been procured, Mr. Donaldson discouraged it, and refused to be responsible for their conduct, therefore it would have been very improper for me to have done it.

CHAPTER XV.

BRITISH AFFAIRS AT THIS PERIOD.

I have already recorded that the Cruisers of Algiers had captured twenty-two sail of boats, with more than two hundred coral fishers, natives of Corsica, who, since the British had taken possession of that Island, were protected by passports issued by the British Admiral commanding in the Mediterranean; but the Dey refused to acknowledge his authority or right to grant them, and determined not to respect them. He therefore condemned the boats and made slaves of the people, which produced much dissatisfaction on the part of the British. Their Consul, Mace, soothed and threatened them by turns with British vengeance, but all to no purpose. "Shylock was determined to have his pound of flesh," and refused to release the Corsicans until their ransom was paid in hard cash; and he was as good as his word, and their Consul was treated with contempt, and frequently with menace, for at that time there was not wanting a person who in order to promote the interest of his own country, fomented the discord which existed by exciting the Dey's avarice, and at the same time quieting his apprehensions that the British would retaliate, by inform-

ing him that they were not in a situation to send any force to Algiers considerable enough to annoy him; for the consequence of letting the Toulon fleet get out and escape them would be of much greater importance to them than the loss of the whole Island of Corsica. In this train were affairs on the 6th of September, the day after the treaty was signed, when a British Privateer belonging to Gibraltar mounting six guns and forty-five men was sent into Algiers by one of the Bey of Mascaras Cruisers, having a defect in her passport and likewise being manned with a motly crew of Rock Scorpions (a vulgar appellation given by the British to the nations of Gibraltar) Spaniards and Italians, and not above ten Englishmen among them. This vessel was called the Tyger, and was commanded by Capt. Aselda, a native of Gibraltar and a brother of Dr. Werner's wife. On her arrival the Dey hesitated for a short time, but ultimately condemned the vessel and made the people slaves, but did not sell her but had her laid up with every thing on board as when captured.

On the 20th of October, a British Frigate anchored in the bay when the British Consul sent a letter to the Marine to be sent on board, which was returned to him in the evening, and the Marine gate was shut before the usual time to prevent him from going on aboard. On the 21st Consul Mace went on board accompanied by the Captain of the Port, his national Drogoman Broker and servant, and after a conference of several hours the Captain of the Port was desired to inform the Dey that the

treatment which the Consul had received from him would prevent him from subjecting himself to a repetition of it; that as he had violated the treaty with Great Britain and refused redress, his functions as diplomatic agent had ceased; and that in future he would receive communications from the British Admiral through the Captains of his fleet. The Algerine subjects returned on shore, and the Consul and his servant remained on board. The Dey sent the Captain of the Port on board again and desired the Consul to come on shore, and inform him what were the demands that the Captain of the Frigate had orders to make. The Consul said he would not interfere, and Captain Hope desired him to inform the Dey that he had orders to demand the Privateer that was captured on the 6th ult., all the Corsicans in captivity and the value of twenty-two sail of boats which had been condemned. The Dey sent the Captain of the Port on board a third time with his negative, and to inform the Captain that he declared war against Great Britain, and that captives would be made by the Algerines in forty days from this date. At 4 p. m. three guns were fired from the light house castle, and war was formally declared against Great Britain by the Dey of Algiers in this manner, as Consul Mace had taken the treaty on board with him. The Frigate immediately hauled down her colors and hoisted in her boats, and the Algerines put all the slaves in chains two and two together to prevent them escaping on board. Early in the morning of the 22nd inst. Mr. Philip Werner formerly surgeon to the British Consul, the only

free British subject at Algiers, received orders from the Dey to embark on board the British Frigate, and the Consul's furniture to the number of forty-five packages were in the Marine ready to be sent on board, when a large vessel appearing in the offing, the Frigate got under way, hoisted French colors and went in chase, in consequence of which the Consul's furniture was sent back to his house without being touched. On coming within gun shot four guns were fired to bring her to, and a boat shortly afterwards was sent on board—she proved to be a Venitian ship from Tunis with the annual tribute of oils. When the boat returned to the Frigate, she crowded sail and stood to the eastward.

On the 24th letters were landed from the Venitian, which had anchored in the bay as she can not get in in consequence of calms and contrary winds. One from the British Consul Mace directed to Dr. Werner, was taken to the Dey by the Venetian Consul's Drogoman, no doubt by his orders. His Excellency broke it open and sent for me to read it, which confirmed him in his resolution and calmed his apprehensions; he asked my opinion to which I answered keep your Cruisers in port and you have nothing to fear; the British are not in a situation to bombard Algiers, and must redeem the Corsicans to prevent a revolt, or at least an insurrection; but if they fall in with your Cruisers, they will take them in order to have your people to exchange for them. "What, before the forty days expires?" exclaimed the Dey. "Certainly," I replied, "you took their vessels before the declaration of war, and your saying that you will

not take any more before forty days expires, does not bind them not to take your vessels, unless they had entered into a regular agreement with you to do so. They will now endeaver to get as many of your people into their hands as you have of theirs in yours, offer an exchange and then start fair." "Why did you not tell me so before?" asked the Dey. "Because your Excellency never asked my opinion, and it would have been presumption in me to have given it unasked, but I am persuaded that in forty days or at most in two months that you will make your own terms without running any risk." "Allah! Allah! Allah! Those that have sense and knowledge of affairs, are silent as death unless they are asked a question, while those who are ignorant and know nothing are continually babbling and leading me astray. Take that letter to the English Tabib (Doctor) and tell him to leave Algiers in the first vessel that sails for Europe." He sailed on the 24th in a small Spanish vessel bound to Majorca. I took a copy of the letter. Affairs with Great Britain remained in *statue quo*, which prevented the Dey from troubling the Consuls of other nations.

On the 25th of December two British Frigates, the Romulus, Capt. Hope, and the Tartar, Capt. Elphinston, with the Honorable Fred'k North on board, as Envoy Extraordinary from the King of Great Britain to the Dey or Algiers, arrived in the bay and on the 27th they settled their affairs as follows:

1. The British are not to permit the Portuguese squadron to rendevouz at Gibraltar or to stay there

longer than to procure water and provisions. (This article is *vox et preterea nihil!*)

2. The Gibraltar vessel is to be restored without ransom.

3. The British are to pay 600 Spanish dollars for each of 195 Corsicans now in captivity, no indemnification is ever to be demanded for the twenty-two sail of Corsican boats which where captured, and the Island of Corsica is to be considered by the Algerines in future, as the Island of Minorca was formely and Gibraltar now is.

On the 28th, the money for the ransom of the Corsicans was paid, and they were embarked on board a Spanish vessel chartered for the purpose; the British flag was displayed and saluted; the Dey made a present of an elegant Turkish scymeter to Mr. North, who hung it over his shoulder with a silk cord as it was too large and heavy for the little fellow to wear by his side without injuring the gold scabbard, with which he strutted about the city and thought himself highly honored; and on the 2nd of January, 1796, embarked and sailed, bound to Bastia in Corsica, leaving the Dey to congratulate himself on the victory he had obtained over the first Maritine nation in the world. Is it then to be wondered at that he demanded so large a sum for the peace and the ransom of one hundred citizens of the United States of America when they had not a single vessel for war afloat; when they levied a contribution of one quarter the amount on a nation who had a fleet within six days sail of them of sufficient force to knock their city about their ears, and to destroy their Cruisers in their harbor.

January 1st, 1796. This eleventh year of my captivity was ushered in by a siege. Mr. Donaldson was confined with the gout when the American mates and seamen took possession of his house; said it was public property; that they had as much right to stay in it as he had, and absolutely refused to go any more to work in the Marine. Mr. Donaldson desired Sloan to persuade them to go away quietly; but they refused and he was at length obliged to send for the guardians, who beat them with sticks and the flat of their swords all the way down to the Marine. I was in the Dey's palace when a complaint was lodged against them, and the Dey actually ordered them to be put in chains, but I interceded for them, and the Dey pardoned them, but declared that in future if they did not behave better he would chain them two and two together. I went out and informed them what the Dey had said and they abused me for the part I had taken in their favor, and said it was as much my fault as it was old hickory's that they were continued at hard work at the Marine. The Dey's impatience increased daily and as he considered that I was the chief promoter of the peace with the United States, not a day passed that I was not threatened and reviled, and sometimes scandalously abused; for as Donaldson had never been to the palace since the presents were delivered, I was regaled with the part of the abuse which would have fallen to his lot had he made his appearance. Mr. Skjoldebrand advised Mr. Donaldson to dispatch a packet to Spain with letters to Col. Humphreys, to learn the reason why

the funds had not been forwarded; but as the Spanish packet was daily expected it was determined to wait her arrival, in hopes that she would bring us some good news from headquarters at Lisbon. But on the 3rd inst. the Dey obliged him to alter his resolution, for he sent him positive orders to freight a sandal and to send her to Spain to procure information direct from the Ambassador at Lisbon, why the money had not been forwarded according to promise and promised to wait until the return of the sandal; but declared that if the stipulations of the treaty were not then complied with—in part at least—and assurance given him such as he could rely on, that no unnecessary delay would be made in forwarding the remainder, that he would turn the old Tupal Ambassador out of the country, undo everything that had been done, cut off my head for having persuaded him to make peace with the United States in preference, and then make peace with Portugal on the same terms that he had made with us—or even for less—in order to have the great sea open to his Cruisers, by which he would have it in his power to be amply revenged on us for our breach of faith by the capture of a number of our vessels, etc. Mr. Donaldson, as usual when there was any difficulty, left the business to me and requested me to charter a sandal, which I did for $200, to go and return from Alicant to lay there fifteen days, and as much longer as the American Consul there might think proper to detain her on paying $2.00 per diem demurrage, the expense of her outfit and provisions was $32.75, which with freight

I paid, making $232.75, the demurrage was paid by Mr. Montgomery at Alicant. A certificate was procured from Mr. Donaldson, that she was employed as a packet by the American Ambassador at Algiers, which was certified by the Dey's order by all the Consuls, and a bill of health for the American sandal packet the Independent, Philip Sloan, master. The American flag was hoisted on board and she was ready to sail in the evening, but Mr. Donaldson's dispatches were not ready. On the 4th I informed the Dey that the sandal only waited his permission to sail, when he dictated a letter to Col. Humphreys, and while I was writing it abused me, old Tupal Col. Humphreys, and the whole American government, Blushidente Vashintone (President Washington) and all as a set of impostors who had deceived his predecessor and now had deceived him, and swore by his beard that he would not be trifled with much longer. I enclosed his letter in one of my own to Col. Humphreys, and the sandal sailed at meridian manned with twelve Moors and commanded by Capt. Sloan.

January 28th the long expected Spanish packet arrived from Alicant and brought letters from Col. Humphreys dated December 14th, informing us that funds could not be secured at Lisbon, and that O'Brien had been sent in the brig to London to endeavor to procure them, and were informed that Sloan had arrived at Alicant on the 6th inst., likewise that Mr. Montgomery had gone to Lisbon on our affairs.

On the 29th Mr. Skjoldebrand and myself, knowing the Dey's capricious, impatient temper, advised Mr. Donaldson to send a small present to the Dey in the name of Col. Humphreys, as in return for the sword the Dey had sent him, and to inform him that it had not been in our power to procure money in Portugal; that Capt. O'Brien had been sent to London to procure it, and to request his Excellency to have patience, as our Ambassador had ratified every article of the agreement; that every exertion had been made to raise the money, but that owing to the war there was so great a demand for cash that it was hard to be procured anywhere; but that great hopes were entertained that it would be procured in London, and that in that case he would soon receive it. Mr. Donaldson positively refused to make any more presents; said that he had surpassed his limits already and cursed the hour that he had come to Algiers. At 2 P. M. the Dey sent for me and asked what news Tupal had from the packet. I informed him as before stated, and added that the impediments placed in the way of procuring money in Portugal, was most probably occasioned by his having given favorable answers to Portugal, who wished to engross all the cash herself for the same purpose; that had he given her a negative at once I had no doubt but the money for our peace would have been raised in Lisbon, and would have been paid ere now. This the Dey doubted and abused me because I had not a present to strengthen his belief; that he was now convinced that we were trifling with him, and desired me to inform Mr.

Donaldson that if the stipulations were not complied with in one month from this date he would declare the treaty void and order him out of the country; "and as for you, sensa fede," (without faith), he says to me, "I know what to do with you," and thus saying he drew his hand horizontally across his throat. I informed Mr. Donaldson who laughed and said he would have hard work to cut off my head or his either, we had such short necks. Mr. Skjoldebrand, who was present, offered his influence to have it commuted to a roasting at Bebal Wey'd, but as I had to bear the brunt of all the Dey's invective and abuse, I was in no means in a joking mood, and sat down to dinner dull enough.

On Sunday 21st of February, 1796. In the house which I had procured for the masters of vessels to reside in by Mr. Donaldson's request immediately after our treaty was signed, a scuffle took place between Captains Wallace, Furnace and Newman, who had been gambling and not very sober, when the two former fell from the gallery into the area of the house. Wallace was killed on the spot and Furnace had his arm broken. Capt. Moses Morse came to ask my advice; I told him to make the report immediately and to call a surgeon, but it was too late, Wallace's spirit had fled.

On the morning of the 22nd I reported this accident to the Dey. He said that he was glad of it; that it was judgment from God, because we did not fulfill our engagements; that he had gone to where old Tupal and I would be certain to follow him; that I was good for nothing but to be the harbinger of

bad news. "Andar" said he, "Andar al diable, embustero; canalle." His passion was so great that he forgot to make any enquiry about the manner that Wallace was killed, and I had him buried immediately before any more questions were asked; for had the truth been known those concerned would have received five hundred bastinadoes each, and the others would have been sent to hard labor at the public works.

On Thursday the 25th, having business with the Dey, his abuse was insufferable, not fit to be recorded. He swore he would wait until the arrival of Sloan but not an instant longer. For some time past I have led a miserable life. The Dey believes that he has been deceived and vents his spleen upon me, because he can do it with impunity. Donaldson has neither sense nor feeling, and as long as he keeps within the pale of the law, that is, does not lay himself open to censure by surpassing the sum to which he is limited, seems quite careless for the result, and is not sensible of the importance of the trust reposed in him or the magnitude of the injury which would result to the United States should the negotiation be broken off in its present stage. I most solemnly declare that was I charged with our affairs, that I would sooner pay $100,000 to gain time to fulfill our engagements than stand higgling for trifles, and would trust to the candor and good sense of the nation to justify my conduct. A diplomatic character must always have a discretionary power, more or less according to the knowledge which the executive possesses who frame his instructions. In this

case our executives were totally in the dark. They knew nothing, absolutely nothing, of the business entrusted to him except that the trade of the Mediterranean is of great value and worth our acquisition; that the liberation of our people is indispensible and their capture in future to be prevented if possible. Under these circumstances a man who would hesitate to prevent so great a calamity, because he might be censured for having surpassed his orders, which neither brought dishonor, or any other consequences of an evil tendency on his country, for a few bags of money which in comparison (may be called trash) is not fit for an office of any importance at a distance from home, and is as devoid of sense as he is of patriotism. Yet I am a great advocate for economy, but saving money is not economy when the interests of our country require the expenditure, in order to secure either a great political or commercial object, which can not by any other means be obtained. In this opinion Mr. Barlow and myself agreed, although we differed on minor points, and let the reader remember that so far Mr. Barlow has had no agency in our affairs.

CHAPTER XVI.

ARRIVAL OF JOEL BARLOW, ESQ.

In this state were affairs on the 4th of March, 1796, when Mr. Barlow arrived on board the American brig Sally, Captain March, from Alicant. This is the first American vessel that has arrived since the declaration of independence, those that were captured excepted. The weather was very boisterous and the winds contrary, which prevented the vessel from coming into the mole and obliged her to anchor in the bay at least four miles from the city. Prior to the arrival of Mr. Barlow, the Jews had reported to the Dey that he was at Marseilles, and had been appointed Consul for the United States at Algiers. This report I endeavored to suppress but the Jews insisted that it was true, for he had the Consular presents with him, which he had purchased at Paris, and read to me the letters they had received from their correspondents.

The Dey ordered me to go on board and bring Mr. Barlow on shore. I informed his Excellency that the weather was so bad that a boat would be in danger of being lost; that I would bring him on shore the next day, when I hoped the weather would be more moderate. Accordingly on the 5th

I procured a large boat with eight oars, from a Venitian ship that lay in the mole, and brought him on shore completely drenched, as the sea ran very high in the bay. He landed in the Marine and went into the city immediately to change his apparel. I introduced him to Mr. Donaldson precisely six months after the signature of our treaty with Algiers, and as soon as I changed my clothes I informed the Dey who asked why I had not informed him that I was going on board for him, that he might have been saluted with five guns as is custom when any of the Consuls of other nations land. I had consulted Mr. Barlow and informed him what the Jews had reported to the Dey. He requested me to inform his Excellency that he was not appointed Consul yet, but that probably he might be hereafter. I therefore informed him that Mr. Barlow's commission had not arrived yet from the United States; that when it did I would inform him, when it would be time enough to give the Consular salutes. The Dey was in a very bad humor—said that he knew what to do with the Americans and ordered me out of his presence. On the 8th the weather had become moderate, and the brig hauled into the mole, and Mr. Barlow's effects were landed. He gave me a letter from Mr. Sloan of the 1st inst. and sent Micaiah Cohen Baccri to the Dey to request an audience, which the Dey absolutely refused to give him.

March 9th, being the first day of the Moon of Ramadan, in the year of the Hegira 1210, in which a Mussulman neither eats or drinks from daylight to

sunset, nor is even permitted to take a pinch of snuff, but feasts all night and literally turns night into day and vice versa. Mr. Barlow prepared some valuable presents in order to present to the Dey to obtain time for our funds to arrive, requested the Jew Micaiah to ask the Dey's permission to present them, and at the same time to give him an audience; but it was too late, and abstinence in this month added to Dey's ferocity. Had those presents or those of less value been presented when we recommended Mr. Donaldson to present them, the sacrifice which Mr. Barlow afterwards made would have never been demanded. The Dey declared that he would not accept of any presents from the agents of the United States, and that as soon as the embargo was taken off the Port he would send them out of the country. On the 11th Micaiah took a small silver trunk curiously wrought from Mr. Barlow and said he would present it to the Dey for his daughter, in his own name, and endeavor to draw his attention to American affairs. But here the Jew's cunning did not avail, the Dey said he might send it to her house if he pleased, and desired him to leave him, as he was going to sleep; and Mr. Barlow got no thanks for the trunk, and little business of any sort was transacted by the Dey during the whole of this month.

On the 21st Mr. Donaldson asked me if the Dey had sent a letter by Mr. Sloan to Col. Humphreys. I told him he had." And pray" says he, "why was I not informed of it?" I answered because it was the Dey's particular orders that he should not, and in

consequence of his own good advice which he had given me on the 30th of last October, which was too salutary to be easily forgotten, and that he had said to me "if you can't keep your own secrets, how can you expect me to keep them for you?" Mr. Barlow seemed astonished, and said that under those circumstances Mr. Cathcart could not have acted otherwise with any degree of propriety or self respect.

[NOTE.—Immediately after the arrival of Mr. Barlow, he propounded to me a number of questions, requesting information under the several heads of the civil and military government of Algieres—revenues, legislation, administration of justice, opinions, etc.—to which I answered in part by placing my journal in his hands and the remainder in oral and written communications, from which he formed his dispatch number one of the 18th of March, 1796, for which he received the thanks of the Department of State. The 3rd of December following the Moon of Ramadan facilitated the measure, as the Dey slept a great part of the day, and consequently I had little to do in the palace.]

On the 28th of March Mr. Philip Sloan arrived by land from Shershell, a town forty miles to the westward of Algiers, where the sandal, in which he came from Alicant, had put in with contrary winds. Our agents requested me to accompany Mr. Sloan to the palace in order to explain to the Dey the purport of Col. Humphreys answer to his letter of which he, Sloan, was the bearer. The Jew having positively refused to go and thus in every instance when any difficulty occured I was requested to

remove it; but when any communication was to be made which in its nature would be agreeable to the Dey, the Jews immediately interposed and offered their services, and when of a doubtful nature they would go to the palace, sit in the coffee room and bring a lie out to our agents, without ever having seen the Dey. They likewise requested me to inform the Dey that the American Consul at Alicant, had brought a credit with him on Madrid for the necessary funds, but that at present the exportation of money was so strictly prohibited in Spain, that unless the Dey would write to the King of Spain to grant permission to embark it at Alicant it would avail us naught, which they solicited his Excellency to do, as it would facilitate the payment in a very short time. At 6 P. M. we waited on the Dey, who as soon as he saw Sloan asked him abruptly, if he had brought the money or any account of it. I told him of Col. Humphreys' disappointment and requested him to permit me to read his letter to him, and by that means to introduce what is noted above. The Dey got out of patience, called both Sloan and me "dogs without faith;" gave me a hearty slap on the left cheek; took Col. Humphreys letter and threw it with all his force out of his apartment and ordered us to quit his presence, threatening if ever we came to him again on such an errand to be the death of us both. I said "strike, Effendi, but hear." Things are not always what they appear to be, but this tyrant drew his attagan that was under the pillow on his seat and we had no alternative but to make a precipitate retreat taking the letter with us,

which Sloan had taken up in his flight, (as the Dey did not follow us out of his room) which he returned unopened to our agents—nor was it ever opened afterwards. Mr. Donaldson laughed and said it was what he expected and that if he smote me on the left cheek, I ought to have "turned him the right also" and fulfilled the Scriptures. But he took good care not to run the risk of being smitten himself and his pleasantry was very illtimed, as the consequences resulting therefrom were of too serious a nature to make a joke of, besides wounding my feelings at such a crisis argued great want of sense and propriety on his part. Mr. Barlow seemed to regret the indignity I had suffered and said it was no dishonor to be insulted either by a fool or a despot; that those who offered the injury were the persons disgraced and not those who were injured. By Mr. Sloan I received letters from Col. Humphreys of the 7th and 16th of February, 1796.

It was the opinion of Messrs. Skjoldebrand, the Jews, and indeed of all concerned, that some means must be taken, and that immediately, to avert the impending storm. The Cruisers were out and we were not quite sure that they had not orders to capture Americans as well as Danes, but neither one or the other, or any other news from the Cruisers had arrived since they sailed.

CHAPTER XVII.

DEPREDATIONS ON DENMARK—CAUSE OF.

The Danes had renewed their treaty with the Dey and Regency, had made presents to the Ministry, but were in arrears one year's tribute of Maritine and Military stores, but as the Consul had promised that when the stores would be forwarded from Denmark, two or three years annuity would be forwarded at once, the Dey seemed satisfied and Danish affairs were considered to be quite settled and their commerce in no danger whatever from the depredations of this Regency; but unfortunately for them, about three months ago a Danish vessel with three hundred Turkish soldiers on board, recruited in the Levant for this Regency, was captured by a Neapolitan vessel of war and carried into Naples. The Dey sent for the Consul and after threats and abusive language, asked him if his King was not ashamed to permit the dastardly Neapolitans to insult their flag with impunity, and declared that if the Turks were not delivered up in a certain number of days—sufficient for the Consul to write to Naples and to receive an answer—that he would declare war against Denmark and make him and his family slaves. The Consul immediately dispatched a vessel to Leghorn

with letters for his government and to the Danish Minister at Naples, who demanded the Turks from the Neapolitan government, who refused to give them up unless the Minister would guarantee the ransom of an equal number of Neapolitans then in captivity in Algiers and Tunis. This was an affair of too much importance for the Minister to decide on without instructions from his Court, as the ransom of three hundred Neapolitans would have cost his nation at least $300,000. On the other hand in consequence of the almost general war in Europe and the security the Danish flag gave to property (or was supposed to give) in the Mediterranean, he advised the Consul at Algiers to endeavor to compromise the matter, if possible, on the best terms he could obtain, or at least to endeavor to temporize as the ports of the Mediterranean were crowded with their vessels, as they had latterly become the principal carriers in this sea. On the arrival of answers from the Minister at Naples, the Danish Consul demanded an audience and assured the Dey that the Minister had used all his influence at the Court of Naples without effect; that his dispatches had been forwarded to Copenhagen by express and that he had every reason to believe that the reclamation would be attended with a favorable result, but that it was an affair of so much importance that neither the Minister nor himself could undertake to promise, as the affair must now be settled by the two Courts.

The Cruisers were nearly ready for sea, viz: six sail mounting from 16 to 44 guns each. Three

smaller ones remained in port for want of men to man them, which with three galliots or quarter galleys compose the whole Marine offensive force of this Regency, which three Frigates of 36 guns each would send to the bottom in one hour. The Dey declared he would declare war against Denmark immediately and put the Consul in chains at hard labor. He on his part offered to pay to the Regency fifty thousand sequins, or to have brought from the Levant an equal number of Turkish recruits in lieu of those in Naples. "What!" said the Dey in a voice of thunder, "and leave my people slaves in Naples? Never, do you think that I am a Jew or a Neapolitan? I will have the identical men now in Naples and none others. What would my Sovereign, the Grand Seignior, think of me where I to permit Turks to remain slaves? What would my own soldiers say? They would cut my throat the first time they came to the pay table. Your King has not money to pay me for those Turks—you know it yourself. I must have the people now in Naples and will have them, or burn you and all the Danes in Algiers on the Jew's burying ground at Bebal Wey'd. Go to your house and think of it. You shall soon hear from me again." When the Cruisers were ready to sail and had been furnished by the Consuls with their respective passports, including those of the Danes, the Dey sent for the Consul and informed him that he did not blame him personally for the capture of his people; that he blamed his nation and that for his sake he would not declare war against Denmark; but, said he, curling his whiskers, "My people were taken

under your flag when we were at peace. I have given my Cruisers orders to capture all and every Danish vessel they may fall in with—and I hope they may fall in with one of your Frigates until I have as many of your people in my possession as Naples has of mine. Your vessels I will lay up and if my people are restored to me I will restore you your vessels, cargoes and people. If not after waiting forty days from the return of my Cruisers to port, I will condemn vessels and cargoes, make slaves of your people and declare war against Denmark," The Consul attempted to remonstrate but the Dey would not listen to him. "Go home," said he, "it is Ramadan, I am going to sleep; and you," addressing himself to me, "inform your Tupal Ambassador what I have done, inform him his turn will come next and as for you imposter, who have been the means of sending a passport for him to come here to deceive me, I will settle my accounts with you very soon," at the same time getting up from his seat, putting his hands on his attagan and making, with the edge of his hand, a motion in imitation of the soldiers when they behead Christians at the palace gate.

The Cruisers went out and by the 20th of April returned with thirteen sail of Danish merchant vessels all loaded, some very rich, valued at about half a million of dollars—and three Genoese of little value. By the intercession of the Consul and some presents, the Danish vessels were laid up with their yards and topmasts struck, sails unbent and their officers and men were permitted to remain on board, the Dey declaring that if the Turks were not returned

from Naples, at the expiration of 40 days, he would condemn them and make slaves of their crews, about 120 in number. I left with dispatches before the forty days expired, but I was afterwards informed that the Turks were returned and the vessels and cargoes liberated. But the officers and crews had been plundered by the crews of the Cruisers, for which they never received any redress.

RAMADAN.

I have already noted that Mr. Barlow landed in Algiers on the 5th of March, 1796, but the presents were not landed until the 8th, in consequence of bad weather; and on the 9th the Ramadam commenced, which was probably the principal cause why Mr. Barlow was refused an audience. At any other time the Dey would have admitted him was it only to have had the pleasure to intimidate him with threats and abusive language; but during this month the true believers feast all night and think proper to sleep the greater part of the day and when they transact business do it in a very summary manner. Consequently during this month more acts of flagrant injustice are done than in all the rest of the year, as an example I will state the following facts:

On the 5th day of Ramadan—which corresponds with the 14th of March, 1796—in the prison called the Bagnio de Gallera two Spaniards, slaves from Oran named Domingo Gomez and Pedro Delgada, quarreled, when Gomez stabbed Delgada in five different places, none of which however was mortal. He was taken to the Spanish hospital and there re-

covered. Josef Garcia and Pedro Silvestre, the two Christian corporals who had the superintendance of the prison at night, endeavored to disarm him but he stabbed Silvestre in the arm and Garcia in the abdomen, who died an hour afterwards. The town was alarmed, the Guardian Monte Negro who had the keys of the prison came in with several armed men, presented a pistol at Gomez and desired him to deliver up his knife. He said "fire, and if you feel valiant enough come and take it." But none of them approached him and for three hours he remained master of the prison surrounded by those tyrants, armed only with despair and a common dutch knife, until one of his own townsmen, of whom he had no suspicion, knocked him down with a club. The cowardly Turks then overpowered him and disarmed him, beat him most cruelly and treated him when a prisoner most unmercifully, Gomez reviling them all the time, calling them cowards and saying now that he was confined there were many who had courage to maltreat him, who a few minutes before were afraid to come near him; that he knew he would soon die and that he only regretted that he had not sacrificed all those villains who had caused his despair—especially the traitor who had knocked him down—and that before he was beheaded he had not the power to revenge the indignities he now suffered from them. Gomez was a man of some education, and before this affair was esteemed a good man.

It was my duty to report to the Dey, every morning at day light, any extraordinary event which

might take place in the slave prisons at night. On the morning of the 15th I informed the Dey of this event. He immediately sent for Gomez, who was beheaded before the palace gate by a soldier who gave him three strokes with an attagan before his head was severed from his body, amidst the acclamation of the mob, who said there was one more Christian gone to —— and the soldier said he wished such a job every day, as ten patachas gordas (six dollars the reward paid to the executioner by the Regency) would be of more service to him than all the Christians in Barbary. The Dey then gave me the following extraordinary and unjust order: "Go immediately to all the tavern keepers and order them to pay two thousand sequins for the two slaves that are dead (one of them the Dey had beheaded), for if they had not sold intoxicating liquors they would not have quarreled, the corporal would not have had to interfere and I would not have ordered the murderer to be beheaded. Inform the villains that if they do not pay the money that I will confiscate all their taverns and other property, if they have any, will give them each five hundred bastinadoes and will send them to hard labor in chains." I delivered the orders to each tavern keeper in writing and received for answer that they were poor slaves and had not the money to pay; that the Dey was the sword and they were the flesh; that he might treat them as he pleased but that they could not pay what they did not possess. On receiving this answer the Dey became outrageous and vented his spleen on me in no very decent manner and ordered

me to inform them that if the money was not paid in three or four days at farthest, they might depend that he would do as he promised or worse; and desired me to inform the chief Guardian and his lieutenant that if the man that was wounded and sent to the hospital should die of his wounds, they should pay one thousand sequins for him. "The Hasna shall lose nothing and tell them" said he, "not to put me to the trouble to repeat my orders." On the 18th the Dey demanded an answer, which was the same as above. I endeavored to intercede for those poor people, when this tyrant got in such a passion that I really thought he was insane; he abused me, said that I encouraged the tavern keepers to disobey his orders; ordered me to desire the Vikilharche of the Marine to send all the Guardians to seize all the tavern keepers and to send them to prison, to shut up all the taverns and to bring the keys to him. This was done accordingly, to the number of twenty-five, and about as many servants, whom the Dey had not included in his order. I interceded for those last, but the Dey answered "those rascals have no money as they do not receive the value of the wine, but they shall receive the bastinado for not putting as much water in the wine and brandy which they sell to Christians, as they do in what they sell to Mussulmen; for if they had they would not have been drunk." He then cashiered the chief Guardian and appointed Monte Negro in his place, because he had appointed two such cowards for corporals who would let one man kill the one and stab the other. It now being past the time for punishment

for all who are bastinadoed receive their quantum ofter dor, when the Mussulmen come from the Mosque at half past one P. M., he ordered that no provisions should be allowed the prisoners until after that hour the next day when each should receive five hundred bastinadoes and be sent to hard labor in chains and then they may eat with what appetite they can. The tavern keepers implored me to intercede for them. I informed them that it would be more than useless and only draw the Dey's displeasure on myself; that unless they promised to pay the money it would be no use to endeavor to appease the Dey's wrath; that all I could do would be to supplicate the Dey to give them time to pay it in and to extend it to as long a period as possible. These poor fellows gave me carte blanche and left it to me to make the best agreement I could for them which they promised to ratify. There were twenty-five taverns—I owned three of them—I concluded that if each tavern keeper would promise to pay five sequins per month, the Dey, when his passion was over, would accept the terms as it was not the money he cared for so much as to gain his point. Accordingly in the morning I took into the palace 240 sequins, my quota, to begin with and to put the Dey in good humor and commenced, "Effendi, I own three taverns, it would not be just to permit my tavern keepers to suffer because they have not got the money to pay to the treasury. They have promised to repay me this sum at the rate of five sequins per month. The other tavern keepers are poor and have promised to pay at

the same rate to the treasury. It is my duty to collect and I will be security for its payment, the treasury is rich, Effendi, I am poor, but I have complied with your commands. I implore your clemency. Accept these terms, and let those poor fellows go to their taverns. They are half starved and nearly dead with fear already." I thus took the Dey on the weak side for he did not like to be out done in anything and on reflection after his passion had abated and he had eaten a good supper and smoked his pipe, his conscience must have accused him of injustice; but he had made so much noise about this affair that he could not retract without a plausible excuse which I now furnished him. Some of the Hodgas (Secretaries of State) interceded and the Dey said "you are right, the treasury is not poor, the money is no object whether it is paid this month or in a twelve month, but I will have my commands obeyed. Take your money out and pay as the others have to pay, but recollect I hold you responsible for the whole sum." He therefore gave orders to the goaler to let the Christians out of prison and ordered me to give them the keys of their taverns. I kissed this tyrant's hand, thanked him and retired. A few days afterwards the wounded man in the hospital went to his duty again, the chief Guardian was reinstated in his office and everything reverted to the same state they were in before this affair commenced; but before I left Algiers, on the 8th of May, 1796, I was obliged to pay the whole of my quota of the mulct and my successor in office was forced to assume the responsi-

bility for the tavern keepers which I had incurred, besides paying one thousand sequins for the office as is customary, which besides considerable perquisites entitles him to be redeemed by any nation who either concludes a treaty of peace with the Regency, or redeems their captives without. During my captivity three Escribanos grande were redeemed in this manner by nations of which they were not subjects and this circumstance renders the situation desirable. As I did not return to Algiers until February, 1799, when Hassan Pasha, the Dey, was dead, I heard no more of this most flagrant act of injustice.

LITTLE PROGRESS IN OUR AFFAIRS.

The Dey even refused to admit Mr. Barlow to an audience for more than a month after his arrival, had ordered his Cruisers to arm preparatory to a declaration of war against the United States. To gain time Mr. Barlow promised the Dey a present of a Frigate of 36 guns to wait only three months longer for the funds to arrive. This time was deemed insufficient by every well informed person, but Mr. Barlow said "he would trust to the chapter of accidents" as we could not be in a worse condition than we were then in. When on the last of April the Dey informed me that the Regency had been so often trifled with by the agents of the United States, that he had no confidence in their promises; that he did not believe that the United States would satisfy them, but that he would send me with a letter from himself to the President of the United States and would wait nine months for his answer, provided that I would insure

him that the Frigate and stores would be built in that period. I told him that the Frigate could not be built in that time, but I would promise that the stores, or a great part of them, would arrive in less than nine months. He then ordered me to be ready to sail in eight days from that date and I departed with his letter to the President of the United States and Mr. Barlow's dispatches, on the 8th of May, 1796, having been in captivity from the 25th of July, 1785, nearly eleven years.

On the 5th of May the Dey ordered me to write the following letter to the President of the United States. On the 6th it was stamped with the great seal of the Regency and I brought it to Mr. Barlow, who then took a copy of it and seemed very much pleased with it, and on the 8th I embarked on board polacca ship Independent, myself master, manned with three Christians and seven Moors bound to Alicant. In the morning I took leave of the Dey and Grandees of the Regency and received my dispatches and orders from Mr. Barlow and at meridian made sail.

The following is the Dey's letter to the President of the United States:

Vizir Hassan Bashaw, Dey of the City and Regency of Algiers, to George Washington, President of the United States of America. Health, Peace and Prosperity:—

Whereas, peace and harmony has been settled between our two nations through the medium of two agents of the United States, Joseph Donaldson and Joel Barlow, and as eight months have elapsed without one article of their agreement being complied with, we have thought it expedient to dispatch James Leander Cathcart, formerly our Christian secretary, with a note of such articles as are required in this Regeney, likewise

with a form of a Mediterranean passport, in order that you may furnish your Consul resident here with such as fast as possible. For further intelligence I refer you to your Consul resident here, and to the said James Leander Cathcart, and I pray you whatever they may inform you of to forward our negotiation, may be fully credited and that said Cathcart may be dispatched with such part of the articles specified in our negotiation as are ready with all possible expedition, for which purpose we have granted said Cathcart a Mediterranean passport commencing the date thereof from the first of May, in the year of your Lord, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six.

{ L S } Done in the Dey's palace by our order and sealed with the great seal of this Regency, the 26th of the Luna of Carib, in the year of the Hegira, 1210, which corresponds with the 5th of May, 1796. { L S }

[SIGNED] VIZIR HASSAN BASHAW,
Dey of the City and Regency of Algiers.

ALGIERS, May 5, 1796.

To Mr. Humphreys, U. S. Minister to Lisbon:—

MY DEAR SIR—Mr. Cathcart, the bearer of this, is well known to you by his correspondence. You will see in my letters enclosed for you, to the Secretary of State, the object of the Dey in desiring Mr. Cathcart to go to Philadelphia. His intelligence and industry will doubtless enable him to render essential service in that business. He has been very useful to our cause here and on that account I beg leave to recommend him to your protection and confidence. I am, my dear sir, with great respect and sincere attachment, your friend and servant, JOEL BARLOW.

ALGIERS, May 5. 1796.

To the Secretary of State:—

SIR:—Mr. James Leander Cathcart, the bearer of this, is the person whom I have mentioned to you as being desired to go to Philadelphia and give you such details as may be useful in arranging and transporting the articles for the peace presents and annual tribute. He has rendered considerable service in our affairs here by his intelligence and zeal and I

doubt not but he might be usefully employed by you in the above mentioned business, or in any other way in which you may think proper to make use of his services. I am with great respect, your obedient servant,

JOEL BARLOW.

To Timothy Pickering, Esq., Secretary of State, Philadelphia.

Copy of instructions received from Mr. Barlow before my departure from Algiers:

Mr. Cathcart:—

SIR:—As the Dey has given you liberty to leave this place with your vessel, that you may go to Philadelphia to give such details of facts as may be useful to our government in expediating the collection and transportation of the peace presents and annual tribute, I understand that in consideration of obtaining your liberty and putting your vessel in activity sooner than you otherwise could do, you undertake to make the best of your way to Philadelphia, at your own expense and I desire that you would proceed by the way of Lisbon, deliver a packet that I send by you to our Minister there and receive his further instructions for America,

I understand likewise that you will touch at Alicant and I desire that you will deliver a packet, that I send by you, to our Consul there and in case that you proceed through Spain by land he will procure you the necessary passport.

On arriving at Philadeldhia I rely on your intelligence and zeal in giving to the proper officers of government, the expediency of as prompt a compliance with our engagements here as the nature of the case will admit. Wishing you a safe arrival and all prosperity and happiness, I remain, sir, your friend and servant, JOEL BARLOW.

Algiers, May 8, 1796.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE TERMS OF MY VOYAGE.

I before observed that the Dey ordered me, on the 29th of April, to get my vessel ready for sea as soon as possible. I informed him that I could not get people to work her there. He ordered me to

take Moors and to send them back from Spain and in consequence of my promising to fulfill the voyage that he would give me a passport for one year from the date thereof. Mr. Barlow, in his instructions, expressly orders me to go at least myself in person to Philadelphia and to land a packet at Alicant, from thence to proceed to Lisbon and deliver a packet and to receive further instructions from our Minister there for America. Mr Barlow further says: "I understand that in consequence of obtaining your liberty and putting your vessel in activity sooner than you otherwise could do, you undertake to make the best of your way to Philadelphia at your own expense." Mr. Barlow does not consider, I presume, that by putting my vessel in activity it is putting me to a great expense and he knows how little my circumstances enables me to bear them, by my accepting of the Dey's passport, it obliges me in honor to perform the voyage direct, exclusive of the orders I have received from Mr. Barlow, so that I cannot accept of a freight elsewhere should one offer. Every candid person will agree that these terms are very hard upon me, considering the lowness of my finances; but now that I am embarked in this voyage, I am determined to go through with it even should I be obliged to sell the vessel to defray the expenses of the voyage. I only regret that the lowness of my circumstances will make me feel the expense amazingly, however, I can only add it to the different sums of money I have advanced to my brother sufferers during the four years they received nothing

from their country, to maintain and console myself with the self applause of being conscious of having done every thing in my power to relieve their distresses and alleviate their sufferings—have left no stone unturned to serve them and our country. I am once more my own and on our business being finally settled in Barbary, our flag become free in those seas, our commerce extended and my former brothers restored to their dearest connections and long lost patria, I shall be happy and thank God for having placed me in a situation that enabled me to be of essential service to our cause and of relieving the necessities of my distressed fellow citizens in a wretched state of captivity.

On the 8th of May, when I received Mr. Barlow's dispatches for Col. Humphreys, I received the following letters and instructions from him before my departure. Never was a parting more truly affecting. It is impossible for me to describe the situation I was in at parting with Mr. Barlow and my worthy and disinterested friend Mr. Skjoldebrand, but more distressing was it to me to part with my disconsolate brother sufferers and leave them on that inhospitable shore; indeed, it was one of the most affecting scenes that can possibly be comprehended. Words are insufficient to describe my sensations in such cases. Silence describes our feelings much better than the greatest eloquence. At meridian made sail after having endured every indignity that a fertile brained Mahomedan could invent to render the existence of a Christian captive unsupportable, and having gone through every scene of slavery from a brick-layer's

laborer and carrying heavy stones from the mountains, to being the first Christian secretary to the Dey and Regency, during the trying period of ten years, nine months and fourteen days, the remembrance of which makes me tremble with horror.

BEBAL WEY'D.

The Christians place of interment at Bebal Wey'd situated a few yards above high water mark on the Mediterranean.

O! Bebal Wey'd beneath thy sand
My brother captives lie,
Away from kindred hearts and land
From sad oppression die.

The sighing sea upon the shore
Their requium will be,
The sprinkling waves will tell us more
Than tear drops o'er the sea.

And I am spared to cross the wave
For those that yet remain,
To help you, O! be strong and brave
Till you are free again.

INDEPENDENT, ALICANT BAY, May 22, 1796.

FROM THIS DAY I DATE MY FREEDOM.

No more a slave! I leave the shore
Where bondage sore oppressed;
"I am my own," accountable no more
To man; I put my trust in Thee,
O God! aid me to do my best
For those who wish to follow me
In freedom's land to rest;
Rest, where the stars and stripes shall wave;
Should they for freedom fall,
Better to fill a hero's grave
Than suffer a tyrant's thrall.

Got product and waited upon Mr. Montgomery to dinner. From this day I date my freedom. Oh! heavens, how my heart bleeds when I reflect on the servile state in which I have left my unfortunate fellow citizens, and when I recall how many of them have died of the plague and now lie buried in the sands of Bebal Wey'd. Nearly eleven years have I lost in the prime of life, which I most regret, yet could I with pleasure bear the yoke of captivity one year more to see my former brother sufferers restored to their patria, liberty, and dearest connections, which pray heaven may soon ensue.

May 28th. In order to fulfill my promise to the Dey and Mr. Barlow, to do justice to my country and to be the means of forwarding our negotiation, and of course of seeing our countrymen sooner at liberty, I found no other alternative than to sell a part of my vessel a freight (indeed several), I could have obtained to the land of Barilla at £6 10s sterling per ton, but I could not accept of it in consequence of my having the Dey's passport. Had I sent the vessel to Ireland and proceeded myself by land to Lisbon and from thence taken my passage to America, we have enemies enough to have informed the Dey of it and exaggerate every particular. The Dey would naturally say "I have given my passport to him in order that he should proceed to America and from thence return to Algiers with the peace and annual presents. He has sent the vessel to another quarter; of course he has disobeyed my orders and does not intend to fulfill his promise." This would be the means of displeasing the Dey,

and he, of course, would retaliate on our Consul, Mr. Barlow, and imagine that we were trifling with him altogether, which might cause a good deal of uneasiness and trouble and may be expense to adjust. I therefore sold one-third of my vessel for $1,666, and with this money fitted her out, got provisions for the voyage and freighted a boat to carry the Moors to Algiers, after paying them their wages and finding them provisions for their passage over. On the 8th of June I got under way but was obliged to come to an anchor again on the 9th inst. it blowing hard from the eastward. I was obliged to slip and leave an anchor and cable and put to sea.

ALICANT, June 5, 1796.

Joel Barlow, Esq., Algiers.

DEAR SIR:—In my last I informed you of my safe arrival here, and at present refer you to Mr. Montgomery's letters for information relative to our affairs. I have received, since my arrival here, two letters from our mutual friend Col. Humphreys, but they contained nothing of importance. I have likewise forwarded to him a copy of all the papers intrusted to my care, which were open in order that he might have an opportunity to forward them to America before I possibly could arrive at Lisbon. I am informed by Montgomery that Capt. O'Brien, in the Sophia, sailed for America on the 27th of April, and by the last letter from Mr. Donaldson he says there is plenty of cash in Leghorn and no impediment in embarking it. Mr. Montgomery has informed me that he has forwarded a credit on Spain for the whole amount of the necessary funds, but no bills have yet been drawn on his correspondents in Spain. However he will inform you of the particulars better than I can. I have freighted the boat that conveys these letters, to carry the Moors over for $100,00. The Moors are paid to the 4th of June, whatever may be due to them from that date until their arrival you will please pay them at the rate of $7.00 per month and charge it to my account. I have nothing more to add but beg leave to repeat

that every dispatch that is possible to be made on my part you may depend on. I have been at great expense to get sailors here, exclusive of my paying the Moors and sending them back to Algiers at my own expense. But that is of little moment to me. All my thoughts are employed on subjects of greater magnitude; indeed sir, I shall never be happy until our affairs are entirely settled in Algiers and my former brother sufferers redeemed from thence—which pray God may be soon. Dear sir, with the greatest respect and sincere attachment, I remain your obedient servant.

JAMES LEANDER CATHCART.

Extracts from the Secretary's letter to Mr. Barlow on my arrival at Philadelphia.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 3, 1796.

SIR:—Captain Cathcart's barque, in which he came from Algiers, is now loaded and ready to sail with naval stores for that place. It would have been very difficult, at this time, to do more, but we expect to load several vessels in the coming spring and with all practicable diligence and expedition, the stores necessary to fulfill our engagements to the Dey, will be procured and forwarded. Captain Cathcart will remain here and it is proposed to employ him in this business, by which means we hope the articles selected for the Dey will give him satisfaction. The sailing of this barque gives me a sure opportunity to acknowledge the receipt of your several letters. Captain Cathcart has given me an open letter to the Dey of Algiers. I observe nothing improper—if any part however should appear otherwise to you they may be erased or suppressed in the interpretation at your discretion. He brought a letter from the Dey addressed to the President of the United States, to which an answer is now enclosed, which the President desires you to present to the Dey in the time and manner which you shall deem necessary and most acceptable.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, sir, your most obedient servant, TIMOTHY PICKERING.

List of the Americans captured since the King of Spain made peace with Algiers on the 30th of June, 1785, with what became of them.

SCHOONER MARIA OF BOSTON, JULY 25, 1785.

Isaac Stephens, by general redemption, 1796.
Alexander Forsyth, by general redemption, 1796.
James Leander Cathcart, left with dispatches, May 8, 1796.
Thomas Billings, alias John Gregory, redeemed, 1796.
James Harnet, died in the mad house, 1793.
George Smith, redeemed by friends, 1793.

SHIP DAUPHIN OF PHILADELPHIA, CAPTURED AUGUST 2, 1785.

Richard O'Brien, left with dispatches, September, 1795.
Andrew Montgomery, in general redemption, 1796.
Philip Sloan, redeemed by the Dutch, 1794.
Peter Loring, died of the plague, June 27, 1794.
James Hull, taken by a Neapolitan Cruiser, 1796.
Charles Colvil, redeemed by his friends, 1790.
John Robertson, redeemed by his friends, June 12, 1791.
William Patterson, redeemed by his friends, Jan. 3, 1794.
Peter Smith, died of plague, Jan. 18, 1787.
Robert McGinnis, died of plague, 1787.
John Doran, died of plague, July 1, 1787.
Capt. Zacheus Coffin, died of consumption, July 2, 1787.
Edward O'Reilly, died of plague, May 8, 1788.
William Harding, died of plague, June 6, 1788.
Jacobus Tessanaer, died of plague, July 13, 1793.

Of twenty-one captives taken in 1785 nine died of these two crews, twelve returned home at different times; no more Americans captured until October, 1793, when the British made a truce for Portugal, thereby the Straits of Gibraltar were left open.

CHAPTER XIX.

EVENTS FOLLOWING MY RELEASE.

As before stated I left Algiers May 8th, 1796. I cannot express my feelings on standing once more on American soil, after so many years of trial and degradation; for after being relieved from menial services the pressure of despotism tainted the atmosphere too much for any one of sensibility to bear. Still in the employ of the United States I remained over two years in Philadelphia—my services were then required in the Barbary States. Having lived in a country were the formation of any social ties were not to be thought of, it is not strange that in the society of Philadelphia I selected one to be my companion for life. On the 5th of June, 1798, I was married by the Rev. Ashbell Green to Miss Jane B. Woodside, the daughter of Capt. John Woodside, a soldier of the Revolution. We remained in Philadelphia until December. On the 20th I received orders from the Secretary of State to call upon him in two days for instructions, and was ordered to procure two large flags for the consulates of Tunis and Tripoli. On the 21st spoke to Col. Pickering to send some superfine cloth with us. Mr. Francis, with myself, chose several pieces of the best colors we could procure. Saturday, December 22nd, 1798, we waited

on the Secretary of State at his office at 7 P. M., and remained there until 12 P. M., when we received our instructions and took leave of him. Sunday, 23rd, left Philadelphia for Port Penn with a stage coach and a coachee to carry the cloth and colors. Sunday evening arrived at Wilmington; Monday proceeded on our journey—went through Delaware; called on Capt. Geddes with Mrs. Cathcart; detained in regard to having the pilot taken off, remained until Friday, 4th of January, when we got under way in company with the ships Hassan Bashaw, Skjoldebrand and Gen. Green, and stood down the bay, which contained a quantity of ice; at 6 P. M. the pilot was taken from the Sophia by the Gen. Green, Cape Henlopen, bearing S. W. distance two leagues, and at 8 o'clock bore W. by N. five leagues. January 5th, spoke brig from St. Domingo. Strong gales. Sunday, 6th 2 A. M., lost sight of brig. Sunday, 21st January, saw the Island of St. Mary's. February 2nd, Cape Trafalgar bears south 58 miles. Monday, February 4th, made sail, saw Cape Trafalgar at Centa, at night we were abreast of Grenada mountains, latitude 36:9. February 7th, at 6 P. M., Cape de Gatt, N. N. E. 7 leagues, latitude 36:35. Friday, 8th at 8 A. M., saw the Barbary coast, bearing from S. E. to E. N. E. 7 leagues. At 10, we were abreast of Cape Tenes. Saturday saw Cape Caxiness bearing E. and by E. 8 or 9 leagues. At 12, passed the point of Pescado and at 2 P. M. hauled into the mole. Mr. O'Brien came on board and we went on shore; waited on the Vikilhadge of the Marine; and thence we proceeded

to Mr. O'Brien's barn, where we were received as well as he could under existing circumstances.

Saturday, 9th of February, 1799, we arrived at Algiers, where we found the three vessels, Hassan Bashaw, Skjoldebrand and the Lela Aisha. The Lela Aisha had arrived the 16th of January, the other two a few days later. The Sophia, on which we embarked, arrived on the 9th, sixteen hours after the Hassan Bashaw. The ship Hero has not been heard from since the second or third day after she sailed. We have reason to suppose she is either lost or taken.

Tuesday, 12th, from our arrival to this date Mr. Eaton and myself have not visited any person, as the prices of the vessels are not yet adjusted. We have valued them as follows:

Hassan Bashaw $49,000; Skjoldebrand $28,000; Lela Aisha $21,000; value of the whole $98,000.00; value at Philadelphia $78,689.38; difference $19,-310.62. Except the deduction of seamen's wages, the United States has been benefitted, by sending Cruisers, the sum of $19,310.62.

The Cruisers are now discharging their cargoes and will be delivered, as soon as the Dey agrees to take them, at the aforesaid value, and to deduct their value from our national debt—that is to place said sum to the credit of the United States in lieu of maratine and military stores. The Dey first said that as the United States had given Hassan Bashaw a Frigate, he expected a Cruiser likewise. O'Brien justly contested that the Frigate was a gift to the Regency, and that he, of course became an heir to the

late Dey's interest therein. He was seconded by the Hasnagi or Prime Minister and the Vikilhadge of the Marine, and it is believed at present, that they will be received according to our wishes. The current report, in this city, is that Bonaparte is still in possession of several capital places in Egypt—and has fortified himself in Grand Cairo; that the British had taken Mahon and blockaded Malta; and that the King of Naples had evacuated Naples and fled to Sicily. On the 19th of December, 1799, an Ambassador arrived from the Ottoman Porte with a Caftan (roll of honor) and firman from the Grand Signor and orders to this Regency to declare war against France, and likewise to take all Greek vessels that should be found to the westward of certain boundaries. The Algerines had taken several sail but were afraid that they would be claimed by the Grand Signor; therefore, on the receipt of the orders to capture said vessels they considered themselves very fortunate, and the ignorant supposed it to be a mark of the Dey's penetration and judgment.

On the 21st of December, the whole French legation were put in chains and sent to hard labor, where they remained 46 days. They are now on parole in their houses, waiting for the result of Bonaparte's expedition. On the death of the late Dey, the Regency wished, universally, that Mustapha Aga should be elected but he preferred being Prime Minister; therefore Mustapha, the Prime Minister, took the seat and the Aga was preferred to the seat of the Prime Minister. He now governs both the Dey and the Regency, as the Dey is incapable to govern him-

self. It is, therefore, necessary to be on good terms with him. The Aga, now being Prime Minister, is a very capable good man and is friendly towards the United States. I am told that, contrary to the custom of this Regency, he despises anything that has the appearance of meanness and will not be bribed by any one.

Thursday, 14th February, arrived Mr. Matthias Skjoldebrand, on board a Swedish Frigate from Marseilles. He brought his wife and child with him. When the Frigate came to anchor, she was saluted by the Marine fortifications, with 21 guns, which she immediately returned. When the Consul left the vessel, she saluted him with five guns, and when he was received on shore the Castle at the Marine saluted him with the same number of guns. On the Consul waiting upon the Dey, he demanded the Frigate to carry the Turkish Ambassador to the Levant. This he could not grant, and for fear of further importunity on the subject, sent his brother away the next day to Malaga. Friday 15th, I wrote to Col. Pickering and Mr. Smith, but the Frigate was sent away in such a hurry that I could not get the letters ready in time to send on board. Sunday, we returned our visits to the Consuls—rather improperly before we visited the Dey. The crews of the vessels disputed relative to returning in the Polacca Penrose, and the crew went on board the Sophia. Next day the vessels were delivered up, and we were never apprised of it. Mr. Eaton and myself were treated very impolitely on this occasion. Mr. Eaton remarked, in his chaos "That we ought never to take

notice of an injury unless we found ourselves in a state to chastise the offenders."

February 22nd, the birthday of the great Washington was celebrated by the discharge of thirteen cannon from the U. S. Brig Sophia. We visited the Dey for the first time since our arrival here. Mr. O'Brien changed his goods and we discharged a courier by the way of Spain. I wrote two letters to the Secretary of State. Next day arrived 93 Frenchmen, prisoners from Cala, a French fortification on the coast to the eastward of Algiers. They were used cruelly on the road, causing the death of four of them. Wednesday the 27th, eighteen of the principal characters were taken from the Marine by the Jew, the rest remained at hard labor. Thursday, I received the Dey's letter from David Baccri for the Bashaw of Tripoli. He advised me to freight a vessel from Algiers to Tripoli, which I refused. Next day I received a letter from Baccri to Farfara. What is in it, God only knows! I am afraid they are coalesced to cheat the United States. March 2, at 1 p. m., sailed from Algiers bound to Tunis. On the 8th put in to *Biserta, in a gale of wind and sailed the 10th. Went on shore and could not get off on account of bad weather and surf; April 5, arrived at Tripoli 1799. May 24, 1801, sailed from Tripoli, in consequence of the Bashaw declaring war against the United States. June 2, arrived at Leghorn, having touched at Malta and landed dispatches for government. November 3rd, 1802, sailed

*A seaport of the Kingdom of Tunis.

from Leghorn on board the Chesapeake, bound to Malta.

TRIPOLI IN BARBARY.

To go to the inner harbor, bring the battery on the east side to bear south and steer direct for it; keep to the eastward of the eastermost rocks, about two and one-half cables length, but not much more, because there lies a bank at half a mile distance, which runs almost to the point of Tagura, on which there is but five or six feet of water in the channel. Between the rocks and the bank there are four, five and six fathoms water. When you get the rocks to the eastward, bear away W. by N. and anchor in five fathoms, sandy bottom. The small channel is between the two westermost rocks where you have twelve and thirteen feet of water; keep as close as possible to the eastermost until you clear the point of the old pier or mole-head and anchor where you please—you will then be among the other vessels. Between the eastermost rocks there is a passage for boats but rather dangerous, there only being six or seven feet of water and many sunken rocks. To anchor in the road, bring the Danish, Swedish or American flag staff to bear south or south half east and anchor at any distance from the shore. About four miles is the best water and bottom.

Gibraltar, April 5, 1803. This day embarked on board the United States Frigate Adams, Capt. Campbell, by the order of Commodore Morris, bound, with a convoy, to the eastward as far as Leghorn.

I expostulated with him upon the impropriety of sending me to Leghorn, when my services would be needed at Tripoli. He said that if he wanted me he would send the schooner for me. 6th, received a written order from the Commodore, as he has promised to be off Tripoli in June. Had I remained I should have given an impartial detail of occurances. This day the Chesapeake sailed for the United States; has my dispatches number two and three on board. She has returned home without once being on her station. 7th, got under way in the Adams with seven sail under convoy, bound to Malaga. 8th, arrived at Malaga and anchored in thirteen fathoms water, the church bearing north, distance one and one-half miles, in good holding ground, brown easy mud. 9th, got under way and made sail; left one of our convoy at Malaga; none joined us, there being only two American vessels in port, both bound to the United States. 10th, spoke the Swedish Frigate Camilla, thirty days from Liverpool. She informed us that a Tripoline Cruiser of sixteen guns is out. This is the same one that Murat Raiz commanded last cruise. 11th, spoke an English brig from Marseilles off Cape de Gatt. 12th, separated last night from one of the convoys—five remain. Number 151 full of troops from Alexandria, last five days from Malta, latitude 37:4 N. entrance of Carthagena N. one quarter W. four and one-half leagues.

Easter Sunday, April 17th, 1803. Anchored off Alicant. The castle on the hill bearing north distance three leagues. 18th, Mr. Montgomery, our Consul, came on board and invited us to dine with

him, which we did not comply with, being under way. One schooner joined us here and the ship Venus, which had separated from us, having already joined us we are now five ships, a brig and schooner in company besides ourselves—at sunset made sail. 20th, last two days fine weather. The Island of Ivica bore E. N. E. and Cape St. Antonio on the Main S. S. W. distant about six or seven leagues. We visited Mr. Reid and Capt. Cronenshield. 21st April, the Columbrettas bore S. E. and Cape Oropesa N. W. nearly fifteen miles each; tried the current N. W. one mile per hour, which accounts for us only making a north course since yesterday, although we constantly steered N. E. the Columbrettas are much higher and cover a larger surface than is laid down in the chart. They bear N. N. E. distance ninety miles from Cape St. Martin, and W. N. W. ninety miles likewise from the Island Dragoniere near Majorca. The nearest main land is Cape Oropesa distant thirty miles. Spoke, a Spanish brig bound to Porto Rico, kept N. E. by E; fine weather and light airs. 22nd at 2 A. M., were called to quarters and boarded a large Spanish King's polacca, bound from Barcelona to Majorca with the mail and passengers. 22nd at 5 A. M., saw Majorca bearing south by east fifteen or sixteen leagues, wind S. W. Steered all this forenoon E. N. E. and found the current sets strong to the northward towards Teragona, which makes it necessary to keep well to the eastward to get round Mount Jouy at Barcelona.

St. John de Pinede, there are several smaller towns interspersed along the coast of Spain, which

gives it the appearance of a continued village. We boarded a fishing boat and purchased some fish. The people looked healthy and were decently clothed. This is the most industrious part of Spain as the people receive greater encouragement from the governors. Mount Jouy bore west one-half south, distance six miles. At 8 P. M., it is worthy of remark that the wind shifted twice in different points in the last twenty-four hours. The steep declivity of Mount Jouy bore W. by south half south and the light house on the end of the mole W. N. W. distance four or five miles. 24th, anchored off Barcelona, the flag staff on Mount Jouy bearing W. N. W. about three miles and the low point of land which makes the road southwest distant about five miles. Went ashore with Capt. Campbell; walked upon the Esplanada and Mall until 9 o'clock; returned on board heartily tired without having entered any of their houses—no great proof of their hospitality. The Danish Consul asked us to enter a coffee house. We took some punch which we paid for ourselves. This being Sunday we saw some thousands females; I never saw so many homely creatures, I doubt if you could find so many should you search the whole states of America. Tuesday, 26th, at 11 A. M., Loretto bore N. N. W. distant five leagues and the point of Palamos near Cape St. Sebastian, N. E. by E. half E. distance from this point to Gorgona about six leagues. Off Leghorn is a strait course, there being nothing to bring you up but the main land on one side and Corsica upon the other. 27th at meridian, the land near Toulon (Cape

Sepet) bore N. N. E. half E. seven or eight leagues. At sunset the islands of Hieras; bore N. E. by E. half E. seven or eight leagues. 28th, the islands of Hieras at 5 A. M., bore N. N. W. to N. N. E. distance nine leagues. At meridian, Cape Cavallo in Corsica; bore E. by S. half S. twelve leagues. 29th, kept the light house one point on our starboard bow and the tower of Marsocco nearly right ahead, until you bring the tower on the shoal of Malora abaft the beam, you may then haul to the north and anchor where you please, and wait for the officer to take the ship in. The tower of Marsocco E. by N, and the tower on the shoal of the Malora, west, are about one and a half or two miles from the shore. There is a valley with two round hills in it, which appears between the two high hills to the northward of the tower at three leagues distance, the tower on the shoal will raise its head above the horizon right in the wake of this valley. Sentenced to quarantine of fourteen days.

FAMILY AT LEGHORN.

May 1st, 1803. Sunday came ashore to the Lazaretto and found my family all well, thank God, after an absence of six months, in which time nothing was done by our squadron. In May the King of Etruria died and the Prince was declared his successor, and the Queen chief of the Regency, during his minority. May 27th, a courier arrived from France and brings us intelligence that war was declared against France by England on the 17 inst., and by France on the 22nd. On the 30th an English ship was seized by

the French and the port was embargoed. May 30th the British subjects were obliged to pawn their honor that none of them would leave Leghorn until further orders from the French General Oliviere.

MURAT, BROTHER-IN-LAW OF NAPOLEON.

Gen. Clerck is at Florence and Gen. Murat is expected daily with a reinforcement. July 21. Received dispatches from the Department of State. I took my passage for Malta, on board the Ionic ship Minerva—embarked my papers, etc. 27th, said ship was arrested by the French military force of this garrison. On the 30th I disembarked my goods.

Saturday, July 30th, at 10 P. M., a general alarm took place and all the French troops were mustered to receive Gen. Murat. He arrived about 11 o'clock and at that hour of the night 101 guns were fired to announce his arrival. Sunday 31. Great illuminations—"Festa di Ballo Illuminazione al Teatro." Monday, August 1st. By a letter from Frank Degan, of Naples, to his cousin Charles Degan here (Leghorn) of the 25 of July, I was informed that the American squadron, ten days before, was at Messina and that from the signals on the light house of St. Elmo at Naples, it was supposed they were in sight of that port. I wrote to the Commodore the same day, and postponed my departure to Messina. This day, a sham fight was exhibited on the little island of Marsocco; it was taken and Murat said that England would be taken with the same ease. He was very much mistaken. Tuesday, Gen. Murat set off for the baths of Pisa at 2 P. M. There are at

present about 4,000 troops in Tuscany. Commodore and Mrs. Morris are enjoying themselves at Messina, Naples, and Mount Vesuvius before returning to Ballston. Mr. Frank Degan has written on to have 8.000 Spanish dollars ready for the Commodore and wife on their return here, as they intend to leave Naples on the 3rd of August. It is probable that they may not get my letter of the 1st, and it will arrive at Naples the 7th or 8th. Saturday the whole American squadron consisting of the New York, Adams and John Adams, prize taken from the Tripolitans, and the Enterprize schooner, were anchored in the roads. I went on board, saw the Commodore and delivered the duplicates of mine of the 1st of August, which I forwarded to him at Naples, which he did not receive. (For particulars see our correspondence and his with Tunis and Tripoli.) Wednesday, 17th. All the commanders dined at my house. 18th. Sailed in the Enterprise schooner, Capt. Hull, bound to Malta, to receive dispatches from one of the vessels lately arrived from the United States, and proceeded from Gibraltar for that place. Sunday, 21st of August. Commodore Morris and Mr. Smith set out for Florence to ask the Queen of Etruria, whether she considered the port of Leghorn a French port or not. Poor woman, her answer will be, or at least ought to be, considering the present circumstances, "Sir, you see my situation; the French troops are in possession of Leghorn, I therefore must defer giving answer to your interrogation until a more favorable opportunity." 24th. Sailed the John Adams; has orders to touch at dif-

ferent ports to look out for two Tripolitans fitted out at Algiers, and to convoy our vessels down the strait.

CHAPTER XX.

Saturday, 27th of August, 1803. Embarked on board the United States Frigate Adams, Capt. Campbell, in Leghorn roads bound to Tunis; at 7 A. M. made sail with the land wind. At meridian spoke two English Privateers belonging to Jews of Gibraltar; they were called the Dolphin and Fortune. They had been out forty-eight days and had taken eleven prizes. Those that have not been retaken have been sent into Arguera in Sardinia. They had two wounded men on board. Capt. Campbell sent the surgeon's mate on board with some dressings for their wounds. Spoke the ship Perseveranza under Imperial colors, from Constantinople bound to Leghorn. Light airs and variable, in sight of Corsica Caprera and the Island of Ella, for which we shaped our course. 28th at 8 A. M. Abreast of Plain Island and in sight of Monte Cristo, which bore about S. S. E. from us. Spoke two vessels from the Black Sea bound to Leghorn, latitude 43:10. At sunset Monte Cristo bore N. distance fourteen leagues and the mouth of the Straits of Boniface west twelve degrees. Wind N., steered south by compass; spoke several sails from the Levant bound to Leghorn. 29th. Light airs from N. N. E. to N. W., passed several sail; spoke a Ragusee bound to the Levant;

steered per compass south latitude 40:13 north. 30th. Made Maritino Thursday.

September 1st, 1803. This day made Cape Bon bearing W. S. W. distance fifteen leagues; contrary winds and fair weather; nothing extraordinary. September, 2 P. M., came to anchor in Tunis Bay; saw the Spanish Frigate the Semillante. Saturday 3, at 5 A. M., went ashore at the Golletta and dispatched a courier with a letter to Dr. Davis; came on board again at 8 A. M. At 2, Davis came on board and dined with us; but had not procured permission for us to land. He went on shore at 4 P. M. Sunday a boat was kept on shore all day; but no news was heard from Davis, consequently, are not informed of the reason why we are not permitted to land. Shifted our birth farther into the Bay. Monday 5th, the Drogoman came on board with a note from Dr. Davis, informing us of the Bashaw's permission to land, saying that a headache must plead his excuse for not receiving us at the Goletta, as it is customary. Went on shore with Mr. Campbell, Mr. O. Bannon and Mr. Turner, and proceeded to Tunis, where we arrived at 3 P. M. Requested and obtained permission to visit the Bashaw next day. Mr. Davis is chagrined because he has not received letters and funds from the Secretary of State. I am displeased at his arrogance. He espouses the cause of the Moors against the captors of the prize Paulina. Tuesday waited on the Bashaw in company with Capt. Campbell, his two officers and Mr. Davis, and were received politely. I delivered the President's letters to the Bashaw. He requested Capt Camp-

bell to wait two days longer for an answer to them; desired me to make my further communications to the Minister. We waited upon him and next day was appointed for business. Davis gave me a letter this day; talked of accounts, etc.; his words and actions by no means correspond with each other. He went out to a country seat and left Campbell and myself to spend the evening as we could. I imagine he has gone to intrigue with the Sappa Tappa. He is resolved to maintain his ground if possible and I will not prevent him. Wednesday, 7th, Mr. Davis at almost 8 A. M. waited on the Minister. At 9 offered $24,000 every three years in order to induce the Bashaw to make some alterations in our treaty; refused; said he asked not for an annuity; he did not want cash; he had demanded a Frigate; that Sweden, Denmark and others paid him, occasionally presents in maratine and military stores, etc.; that the Bashaw would not receive me as Consul, appointed Davis, and told me to come next day for the Bashaw's letter to the President. Conversation with the Minister relative to the Bashaw and other subjects. Davis demanded funds which I refused to give him. Improper conversation ensues. He said he would rather see everything held dear to the U. S. detained than be reduced to his present embarrassments. Saw Hadgi Unis ben Unis; refused to interfere in the affair of the prize goods pro or con. First demand six or seven Scadi of Malta, second $12,000. Davis declares his apprehension that Capt. Campbell would be detained; conversation on that head. I received an account of Davis' disbursements amounting to $2,011; returned it to him.

Davis assumed an air of imperiosity and menace. These hints to be properly digested when on board. Thursday, 8th, at the palace in company with Capt. Campbell and Dr. Davis Hadgi Unis ben Unis presented a long list in Arabic; Davis made no apposition; promised to pay for the whole of the claim. Capt. Campbell and myself did no interfere in the least. Stood up to take leave; received the Bashaw's letter to the President. I took him by the hand and said, in the Turkish language: "I am sorry your Excellency has been induced by the false insinuations of the enemies of my country, to convert the representative of a far distant and friendly nation, to the necessity of becoming a courier. This is an indignity as unexpected by me as it is unfriendly to my country and disrespectful to the President." "Consul" answered he, "I mean no disrespect to you or your nation; political reasons prevent me from receiving you; I wrote to the President on the subject; I want a man that is not known in the other parts of Barbary." I wished him prosperity, and he returned the compliment by wishing me a good voyage. On our passage to the palace Davis had said he was apprehensive that Capt. Campbell would be detained. Capt. Campbell again repeated that the ship should go without him; that he had already sent an order to the Goletta to get the ship under way. We returned to the Consular house and being determined to go on board immediately after surmounting a number of difficulties, placed on purpose in the way of procuring an equipage, we arrived at the Goletta at 3 P. M., found the ship

under way, Davis' Secretary and Drogoman came on board with us. Davis wrote some letters with a cigar in his mouth. I wrote to the Bashaw suspending Davis' functions. Could not do it before for fear Capt. Campbell should be detained. Gave him verbal orders which he refused to obey. He went on shore at 6 P. M. At 9:30 the boat returned on board and we made sail. Friday 9th was abreast of Galita, a small island, high land. Between it and the main is a passage six leagues wide at least. Tuesday 13th, from the 9th to this date favorable winds and fair weather; today we are eighty miles north of Algiers; spoke the brig Monroe, Capt. Porter, 45 days from Baltimore, bound to Leghorn; wrote by her to Mrs. Cathcart. Congress has consented to treat upon the cession of Louisiana. 14th, saw the island of Ivica. 15th, at 8 A. M., saw Cape Pallas, bearing north, distance twelve leagues; 16th, saw Cape de Gatt; 17th, near Cape de Gatt saw a latteen sailboat rowing, many oars, appearing like a Barbary half galley. We manned our boats pursued but could not come up with her. The boats returned at meridian after a chase of four hours. Sunday 18th, beating to the westward; chased a vessel close to the shore, in Almeria bay. At 8 this evening we were abreast of Abdera and headed W. S. W. nearly the whole night, with a fresh breeze at N. W.; nevertheless at 6 A. M. on Sunday morning the island of Alboran bore N. from us two leagues, the current having set us to the S. E. so far that we only made a south course, though we steered W. S. W. Caution is necessary in this place with contrary

winds in long winter nights. Our boat was sent on shore on this island. They killed two comorants, fired at several sea lions and brought two cubs on board alive. Sunday saw the U. S. Frigate Philadelphia, Capt. Baimbridge; hoisted our distinguishing flag and made the signal of the day, to neither of which did we receive any answer, which displeased Capt. Campbell very much and with reason. She had a merchant ship in company. Spoke the U. S. schooner Vixen, Capt. John Smith; went along side of her at 11 A. M.; she gave us the news of war being declared against the United States by the Emperor of Morocco, and that one of his Cruisers was captured by the Philadelphia with an American brig which she had taken. Monday 21st, spoke the Nautilus, Capt. Sommers, bound down with the Phœnix in company. At sunset the Rock of Gibraltar bore W. by south ten or twelve leagues. Tuesday 22nd, Tetuan bore west four leagues and Centa point N. N. W., distance eight leagues. This evening fell in with the Constitution off the Rock. Went on board and received my dispatches from government. Presented Commodore Preble and Colonel Lear my communications number twelve. Wednesday 23rd, anchored in Gibraltar bay where we found the Constitution, New York, and Enterprize. Went on board the Constitution. She anchored, Colonel Lear went ashore. 24th. Got permission to land; took lodging at the sign of the ship, all other places being full. This evening the Constitution sailed for Tangiers upon a cruise. 25th. Came on shore with my baggage. Capt. Morris took charge of the

Adams, and Campbell, the New York at meridean to join Capt Rodgers off Mogador. This evening sailed the Adams with my dispatches for the United States, also letters to Capt. Woodside. I delivered my consular seals and public papers to Mr. Lear. 27th. Heavy rains with violent peals of thunder and tremendous flashes of lightning, but not high winds. Thursday arrived the Constitution and John Adams, Capt. Rodgers, from a cruize to the westward. October 1, arrived the brig Syren, Capt. Stewart, from Philadelphia in twenty-eight days. I called on board the Constitution and the John Adams and left a card for the commanders. October 2nd. Went over the Rock of Gibraltar to the tower on its summit, and likewise viewed the cave of St. Michael, in company with a Spanish gentleman, Don Francisco Gomez y Passo. This curious work of nature has its entrance about half up the rocks where a small platform has been made probably for convenience and to make a turn of the winding road, which goes up the rock. There are no guns on it, but two might be placed there to advantage if necessary. You descend about thirty feet down a deep descent and are surprised to see the magnificence of this fabric, which appears like the ruins of an ancient theatre, or rather Gothic structure of immense height. Its peculiarities are its petrifications and a lake, as it is by some called, but by me supposed to be a subterraneous river, whose water is excellent, had it been stagnant it would have petrified long ere now, and a pillar, on the right hand side going in, of petrified water which has filtered through the rock from time immemorial,

probably since the deluge, and forms a column among many others by which the roof is supported, on the top of which is an image in all appearance like the image called by the Spaniards, Nuestro Lenora del Pillar, or our lady of the pillar or column. It has, likewise, unfathomable pits of different forms and extends farther under the rock than human perseverance has yet found out. The vulgar opinion is that it extends under the Mediterranean sea to Morocco, and that the monkeys visit each other from Apes Hill and the rock on Mount Calpo, which are, according to tradition, the Pillars of Hercules. From the cave we ascended in roads cut round the rocks to the tower above Europa point, which is the southermost point of Europe. This was built by Gen. O'Hara in order to make and answer signals from the British fleet of Cadiz; but, as it did not answer the purpose for which it was intended, the British government refused to indemnify the general for the expense of building it. On the top of the tower is a stone on which is the following inscription:

This stone is 1,470 feet above the level of
the sea at high water mark.
A. D. 1800.

And above the entrance of the tower is:

St. George's tower erected by Gen. Charles
O'Hara, Governor of Gibraltar.
1799.

October 2nd, 1803, sailed the John Adams in quest of the New York. October 3rd, the Constitution, with Commodore Preble and Colonel Lear on board, sailed for Tangiers, this evening, in conse-

quence of a letter arriving from Mr. Simpson, informing us that he is liberated and that the Emperor disavows his having given orders to Hadgi Hassi, Governor of Tangiers, to capture American vessels, and that he is disposed to terminate our differences and renew the treaty between the nations as before. October 6th, I went to Algeceiras in Spain and returned the 9th. It is a miserable place, and everything is very expensive. October 11th, by a boat from Algiers, was informed that the United States had concluded a peace with the Emperor of Morocco and that the firing we heard was our Frigates saluting the Emperor. Today a quarantine was laid on all vessels from Malaga, in consequence of the yellow fever. Yesterday the Syren and convoy sailed with the Malbrouch, a prize of twenty guns taken from the Emperor of Morocco. She is to be sent into Tangiers and will be returned to the Emperor. 13th, the Syren returned and brought me a letter from Colonel Lear, informing me of the peace, which he says is on good terms. I hope it may continue. 15th, arrived the Constitution. I waited on Colonel Lear at Mr. Gavinos to hear the news. 16th, paid my respects to Commodore Preble and Capt. Stewart on board their vessels. 18th, the New York and John Adams sailed for the United States, with the Tripoline Admiral's ship which has given us so much trouble. They are to touch at Tangiers to deliver her up to the Emperor, who has promised to have the brig and property which was detained at Malaga immediately delivered up. I sent my baggage on board the Syren and am only

waiting for fair wind. 22nd, the wind still continues fresh to the eastward. The Constitution and Enterprize sailed, bound to Cadiz. Several of our men have claimed the British protection, and letters have passed between Commodore Preble and Capt. Gore, of the Medusa, and Capt. Hart of the Monmouth. The British were very high and kept the men. 23d, sailed the British convoy under the protection of the Termigant, Capt. Petty, who takes them as far as Admiral Nelson's fleet, who is now off Toulon, and thence will proceed to Malta. Mr. Falcon, the British Consul, who was turned away from Algiers some time ago, is on board the Termagant. Admiral Nelson has orders to reinstate him in his office, as the British disdain the idea of being dictated to. October 24, in the evening, I embarked on board the United States brig Syren, Capt. Charles Stewart, with seven sail under convoy, bound to Leghorn. 25th, at meridian the Rock of Gibralter bore N. W. by W. distance seven or eight leagues; light airs in the south-east and eastward; laid by for one of the convoys. At 7, spoke the Trent, who we were waiting for; made sail about 8 P. M. 26th, spoke the brig Monroe, Capt. Porter, fourteen days from Leghorn, bound to Baltimore. He had not seen my family when he stopped at Leghorn; had only been once on shore, therefore had no letters or news. At 5 P. M. the Rock of Gibralter bore W. distance nine or ten leagues, fresh gales and heavy sea. 27th, at 4 A. M., having made the signal to stay or veer the ship General Wayne, one of our convoys did not attend to it and was within two fathoms of

running us down. It was blowing fresh and an ugly sea was running; had we touched each other it is probable one or both of us would have been sunk. At meridian, 28th, this morning Malaga church steeple in sight. 29th, at 5 A. M., Cape Molinos; bore W. N. W. eight leagues. 30th, at meridian, calm; we exercised our great guns and small arms. At 8 P. M., saw several sail to the eastward; gave chase and came up with them; they proved to be the British convoy which sailed from Gibraltar the 23d inst., bound to Lord Nelson's fleet off Toulon and Malta. 31st, at 8 A. M., Cape de Gatt bore E. N. E. distance eight leagues; the British sloop of war and her convoy in sight, distance five leagues. November 1, all the American and British convoys in sight. At 8 A. M., Cape de Gatt bore W. N. W., distance seven leagues from last evening. At sunset the S. W. part of Cape Pallas, bore N. by E., distance fifteen leagues. 2nd, all the convoys in sight; the British far astern and many strange sail in sight. 3d, at 9 A. M., the little round hump of land to the eastward of Cape Antonio; bore N. W. by W., distance six or seven leagues. At meridian Cape St. Antonio N. W. by N. and the centre of Ivica N. E. by E. being at equal distance from each land about seven or eight leagues. Friday 4th, at 8 A. M., the Termagant, British sloop of war, hailed us and informed us that they wished to send a boat on board of us; an officer came on board and said he was ordered to ask permission to search the brig Fame, of Baltimore, as they had reason to suspect her having property of the enemies of Great Britain, she having come direct

from Batavia and being bound to Leghorn. On searching her documents, it was found that the cargo was *bona fide*, the property of citizens of the United States. The captain said he was misinformed and sent her papers on board immediately and made sail in quest of his convoy. This is precedent, that it is permitted by our ships of war to visit the ships under their convoy by the ships of war of another nation, but not by privateers. 1 P. M. Ivica bore east, and Cape St. Antonio N. W. by W.; at 6 P. M. Ivica bore N. E. by E. 5th at sunrise the south end of the island of Fromenterra, bore E.; the north end, bore N. E. by N.; the south end of Irica, bore S. E. half E. and the north end E. by S. half S. At 8 A. M. Ivica bore E. N. E., distance of three leagues; pleasant gale, S. S. E.; steered N. E. by E. Cape St. Antonio, bearing W. N. W. nine leagues distant, appears high and insulated, something like Saba near St. Eustatia. You can see the land westward of it which is not so high. At meridian, Cape Nemo in the island of Ivica; bore southeast ten miles distant, and the island of Dragoniere near Majorca E. by N., distance forty miles. 6th, Sunday. West end of Majorca; bore S. by E., distant fourteen or fifteen leagues. 7th at 8 A. M., Cape Fromontel; bore S. E. by E., distant nine leagues. At 5 P. M. the east end of Majorca; bore S. half E. At 7:30 the ship Gen. Wayne left the convoy by permission and hauled to the S. E., being bound to Zante, her track is exactly the cruizing ground of the Tripolines, this season. At 8 P. M., fine breeze; all the convoy in sight, but they cannot keep up with us. Had we been by ourselves we

would have heen at Leghorn before this time. This day Mr. Caldwell read me a part of his journal, and declared to me that on September 5th Capt. Alexander Murray, of the U. S. Frigate Constellation, went on board the French admiral's ship with a boat's crew and officer in Tunis bay and staid on board of said ship above one hour; that Mr. Charles Stewart, his first lieutenant, had communication with Mr. Eaton in Tunis bay on the 7th inst.; and that on the 10th on his arrival at Palermo he reported the Frigate directly from Malta, and pawned his honor that he had no communication with any vessel, nor had he touched at any port since he left there. Mr. Caldwell likewise informed me that a seaman by the name of John Thomas, having accidentally fallen into the sea from one of the tops, when the Constellation was going eight knots with a free wind and smooth water, Capt. Murray would not allow the ship to be rounded to, nor the jolly boat dropped in order to save him. So much for Capt. Murray's honor and humanity. Lieutenants Stewart and Caldwell have further informed me that the whole of the nine gunboats of Tripoli where in the power of the Constellation, when Capt. Murray gave over firing at them; that his officers making some observations he said: "What is the use of killing the poor fellows?" and that constantly vessels were going in and out of Tripoli without being examined, for fear of his having to perform quarantine; that on his seeing vessels, however suspicious they might appear, he would not chase them for the same reason. The journals of those officers ought to be called for by the navy

department, to which I refer government for more particular information on this and other subjects worthy of notice. At 2 P. M. saw the high land above Toulon, bearing E. by N. distance five leagues, and the point at the entrance of Marseilles N. W., distance eight or nine leagues. The land above Toulon appears nearly insulated. The eastermost part is high and nearly perpendicular and there runs down in a long point to the westward. The land about Marseilles at this distance appears low and broken. At 4 was boarded by a boat from the British Frigate Narcissus, Ross Dudlass, commander. She being in company with the Sea Horse; no news. 10th, at daylight the Islands of Heros near Toulon bore N. E. distance of four leagues. 11th, the Island of Gorgona bore N. E. by E. distance four leagues. 12th, steered E. by N. At 8 A. M., anchored in six fathoms water; the Maloria bearing west two and one-half miles and the light house bearing S. E. by E. three or four miles distance S. S. W.; fresh gales and pleasant weather. At 9:30 A. M., came on shore in a heavy gale at west. It blew so hard and the sea ran so high that I advised Lieut. Carrol to stay on shore at the Lazeretto all night. I wrote to the Governor and requested him to shorten our quarantine. 13th, the Captain of the Lazeretto informed me that the Governor presented his respects and would give us practique in the morning. 14th left the Lazeretto. Saturday 31st March, 1804, set out from Leghorn and arrived at Florence at 10 the same night, slept at Schneider's and set out for Sienna on the 1st of April, where we

arrived at sunset, supped and set off at 10 P. M., and at 9 P. M. the next night, 2nd of April, we arrived at Montefidescone where we slept, and set off for Rome on the 3rd, where we arrived about sunset and were conducted, by a sentry, to the Custom house. Put up at Mons. Damons, one of the best hotels in Rome, where we found but very indifferent accommodations. This evening wrote to Naples and determined to wait the return of post; on the 9th inst. wrote to my family; this is the third letter I have sent home since I left Leghorn. 4th, commenced viewing the antiquities of Rome, which surpasses any idea you could possibly form of them and render a few days observation both agreeable and edifying. The whole of our expenses from Leghorn to Rome amounts to 107 crowns and three pauls. The postmen are so amazingly imposing, for several posts they obliged us to take six horses, and from the time we left Florence until we arrived at Rome we had never less than four. At Sienna we remained over an hour disputing with the postmaster, but all to no purpose, we were obliged to take four horses or remain stationary. Tuesday, 10th of April at 7 A. M., we set off for Naples, having agreed with a voiturino to take us there for forty-two crowns and find us beds and one meal a day. Slept a few hours at Casa Nova; set off at 3 A. M. Wednesday rested a few hours at Molaoda Gaetta; set off at 2 A. M. and refreshed at Capua and arrived at Naples at 7 P. M. Went to the Sun but found it full and were obliged to put up at the Dover Castle; saw the Consul this evening; my clothes being on board a vessel whose

quarantine does not expire until Sunday, I cannot visit the Minister before Monday. Sunday I dined with Mr. Degen at his country seat from which there is a most beautiful prospect.

Monday. The Minister, Sir John Acton, on the Consul's applying for an audience appointed 7 o'clock this evening.

CHAPTER XXI.

January 1st, 1805. Embarked on board the ship Mercury of Wiscasset, Maine, with my wife and four children, the eldest Eliza Woodside, born in Tripoli, Amelia Humphreys, George, Latimer and Mary Anne—the last three born in Leghorn. We sailed at 2 P. M.; the Island of Gorgora bore east distant one league; steady breezes and pleasant; at 8 P. M. the southern part of Corsica bore S. W. by S. distance four leagues. Friday 5th, pleasant breezes; at 10 A. M. Island of Majorca distant four and one-half leagues. Saturday, the Island was distant seven leagues; at 7 A. M. made the Island of Ivica W. six leagues distant; Monday bad weather; Tuesday more pleasant; Wednesday 9th, stormy breezes, at midnight very squally; at 8 A. M. made Cape de Gatt N. W. four leagues; at 9 very heavy squalls of wind and hail at 11 the wind was all around the compass, the sea running in every direction. We were taken aback in a heavy squall which stove in our cabin window and we shipped in a great deal of water. Our situation was critical, fortunately the dead lights were gotten in, and way was got on the ship by the exertion of Capt. McCray sooner than we had reason to expect. Thursday 10th, still continues stormy, very cross sea owing to

the current; at 10 A. M. made the Rock of Gibraltar; next day stormy breezes; at 1 P. M. spoke the Mary of Boston, bound to Marscilles; saw in Tangier a ship of the line and a Frigate. 11th, was hailed by a British Frigate to the eastward of the Rock, but not detained. The Captain informed me that the United States Frigates Essex and John Adams were at Gibraltar. Saw a ship of the line—did not speak her. We experienced stormy weather until the 18th; Made the Island of Teneriffe and hauled in for Santa Cruz; A boat came off from the health officer who examined us and took our bill of health on shore endorsed, and a note from Mr. Anthony Powers, American agent there, with a goat and kid, eggs and a demijohn of vinegar, for which we paid 25 Spanish dollars; we could not get fresh meat, fish, vegetables or fruit, as this Island is supplied by the Grand Canary and there has been no arrivals for some time.

February 1st, just a month since we left Leghorn, bad weather has made it tedious. 13th, light airs and pleasant weather; at 3 P. M. spoke the Brig Alert, Capt. Rollins, of Portsmouth, N. H., out 7 days from St. Vincents, bound to the above place; sent a boat aboard with mate and four hands, Craig, Osborn, Martin and Sommers, to purchase necessaries. While the boat was along side the brig, Craig held up a tin pot and called to Capt. McCray in an impertinent manner, and then drank to him. When they returned Martin and Craig abused the captain, which induced him to order Martin below. Craig being in the boat, he was ordered to drop her astern. He made an insolent reply and the captain answered:

"I will talk to you when you come on board." Then answered Craig, "You will have to do with all hands." When the boat was hoisted up the captain took Craig by the collar, who immediately struck the captain and cut him under the eye. The mate assisted the captain and Craig went forward and cursed all the crew for not assisting him against the captain, abused me very much for assuring him, and the rest, that I would assist the captain to quell any rebellion or mutinous proceeding of himself and crew, as likewise did Mr. Heise, another passenger, who was also abused by Martin, Craig and Sommers; but Sommers went forward upon my remonstrating with him upon the folly of his conduct. About 8 P. M. I heard a noise upon deck and found it was occasioned by Martin striking the captain, whose coat was torn. The mate assisted the captain, and Martin having said, that if the ship's company were all of his mind, that he would know what to do and would not be secured. It was found necessary to tie him to the weather quarter rail, lest he should corrupt the rest of the people. He took out his knife and cut himself clear. The mate tied him again, he going on in a continuous strain of insolence and mutinous language, tending to excite the rest of the crew to rebellion and insurrection. Next day at 5 P. M., was boarded by the British Frigate Mermaid, Capt. Hollis, brig Alert still in company. Martin and Craig, while the Frigate was alongside, came up on deck and helped to shorten sail—no further account of insurrection. Tuesday, 26th February, spoke the Josephine from New York bound to Charleston, S. C.

out twenty-four hours; several sail in sight standing to southward. At 8 A. M. made the land a little to the northward of Little Egg harbor. Wednesday, beating to windward between Little Egg harbor and Sandy Hook; at 2 P. M. made Sandy Hook. Next day got a pilot and stood up the fair way for New York; at 8 A. M., anchored off the north battery—Dr. Rodgers, the health officer, came on board, in a hard snow storm, examined the ship's company and gave us practique, but we could not go ashore on account of bad weather. March 1st, 1805, engaged lodgings at Mrs. Anthony's and took my family there at 2 P. M. 2nd, busy all day at the Custom house; landed part of our baggage and visited the Bogerts. 7th, went to Flat Bush with all my family and stayed with Mrs. Bancker, my wife's grandmother, and Mrs. Vansinderin a week. 22nd, left New York for Philadelphia. 24th, arrived at Philadelphia and found our friends all well. Friday, 29th, left and arrived the next day at Baltimore; staid there all day and on Monday the 1st of April left Baltimore and arrived at Washington at 8 P. M.; found our relatives in good health. Thus ends this voyage which we performed in three months exactly and I expended in that period $1,380.

CHAPTER XXII.

We resided on West Street, Georgetown, until I was appointed Consul to Madeira. My son, James Leander, was born in Georgetown January 31, 1807. We sailed in the brig Louisa, Capt. McNamara, May 21st. Left Washington at 11 A. M.; arrived at Alexandria at 3 P. M.; put up at Gadsby's hotel; dined at Capt. Slocum's. The 23d, at 9 A. M., embarked and sailed direct for Madeira. Sunday 24th, at 7 P. M., cleared the Potomac. Monday 25th, at meridian passed Cape Henry and saw the Wasp in Hampton Roads and passed four British men of war in Lynn Haven Bay; fair weather and several sail in sight.

Thursday, 11th of June. From our departure we have had very fine weather. Madeira bears from the ship 1205 miles. The weather has been so fine that there is no observation to be made. As we have only handled top gallant sails once since we left the capes. 14th, caught two sea turtle and showed my family around the vessel. Wednesday 17th, fresh gales to the N. E. Handled top gallant sails and single reefed the top sails for the first time this passage. Thursday 18th, made the north end of Madeira, bearing east distance ten leagues; made sail and anchored in Funchal Roads at 3 P. M. At 5 went ashore at Mr. Foster's house, being just twenty-eight days from the city of Washington, twenty-six from Alexandria and twenty-four from the capes.

June 26th, 1807. Moved the family to the Quinta de descanso, a summer residence, an elevated situation. The winter season we occupied our residence in Funchal, the capital of the Island. Spring and Autumn rain continually and produce fruits and flowers throughout the year. Many brooks and small rivulets descend from the mountains in deep chasms or glens, which separate the various parts of the Island. The water is conducted by channels into the vineyards. The Cedar tree is found in great abundance, and most of the ceilings and furniture, at Madeira, are made of that wood and are exceedingly beautiful as well as fragrant. The hedges are mostly formed of the myrtle, rose, jessamine and honeysuckle, while the larkspur, Fleur de Lis, lapin, etc., spring up spontaneously in the meadows. There are very few reptiles to be seen on this island, canary birds and gold finches being found in the mountains. We remained in Madeira over eight years, during a period of embargo, non-intercourse and war, the Island being in possession of the English, public animosity did not prevent us from procuring provisions. The children attended a school taught by an English lady, to whom they were much attached, and who gave them pretty fair opportunities for improvement, and when we left the Island they parted with us with great reluctance. Three of our children were born on this island—Charles William, Jane Bancker and John Philadelphus. We left Madeira for Washington, D. C. I was next appointed Consul to Cadiz. I went a year in advance of my family.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Cadiz is a large city. The streets are narrow but cleanly. You would be astonished at the perfect neatness of the appearance of the white plastered houses. One charm Cadiz did possess the "Sea, the wide open sea." The Alameda, the public walk, was pleasantly situated and presented a fine view. The roads were full of ships and many sails of different nations waved from them. Cadiz has an exceeding large and elegant Casino, where you can find an assortment of home and foreign newspapers. The bath houses are a great luxury, and many ladies are expert swimmers. My son, Henry Nassau, was born in Cadiz. Returned to Washington in 1817—this being my last appointment abroad. My son, Edward Preble, was born in Georgetown, D. C. Thomas Jefferson in Washington, D. C. Of twelve children only three were born in the United States. Was United States agent in Louisiana one year—afterwards offered a position in Second Comptroller's office.

THE CAPTIVE SLAVE.

The captive struggled, strongly bound,
He spent his utmost strength in vain;
Lifting his proud head from the ground
He hurled upon them his disdain.

Come on ye hellish, rabble crew,
Ye hunt my life and torture plan;
It takes a hundred dogs like you
To down a single valiant man.

But when the stench comes from that fire
And westward floats with windy gust,
A nation's wrath with vengeance dire,
Shall make you shrivel into dust.

My country great, with outspread arm
Shall smite you with its mighty hand;
Shall fill such cowards with alarm
And send them skulking through the land.

There men are kings and breathe free air,
Nor bow, nor crawl to tyrant foe;
Ye devil's crew beware, beware,
The skies are black with signs of woe.

The dusky mob with crafty ear,
Give heed to his defiant cry
And seek to make his meaning clear,
While smoke and dust obscure the sky.

They pause in superstition dread
And stroke their beards with dusty hands,
And wisely nods each turbaned head
As they obey their chief's command.

Relaxing hands relieve the strain
Of thongs that gall each bleeding arm,
While whispered words of ransom gain,
And dreams of gold their visions charm.

The gleams of flame made hideous play
With fitful light on all around;
They lead their blistered slave away
With bloody track upon the ground.

And the great gusts of wind and rain
Obscures the scene, blots out the blaze;
Allah is great! is their refrain,
The captive lifts his head in grace.

—J. Y. P.

[NOTE.—The practice of burning at the stake being so common in Algiers, suggested these lines by Mrs. Jennie Yates Peabody, the wife of Dr. Peabody, grandson of James Leander Cathcart, who, while a prisoner, had been threatened to be burned at the stake, being beheaded, etc., etc.]

FINIS.

9 2349

RETURN TO the circulation desk of any University of California Library

or to the

NORTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY
University of California
Richmond Field Station, Bldg. 400
1301 South 46th Street
Richmond, CA 94804-4698

ALL BOOKS MAY BE RECALLED AFTER 7 DAYS
To renew or recharge your library materials, you may contact NRLF 4 days prior to due date at (510) 642-6233

DUE AS STAMPED BELOW

SENT ON ILL
FEB 1 5 2007
U.C. BERKELEY

DD20 12M 7-06

U. C. BERKELEY LIBRARIES
C086254198